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EDITED BY

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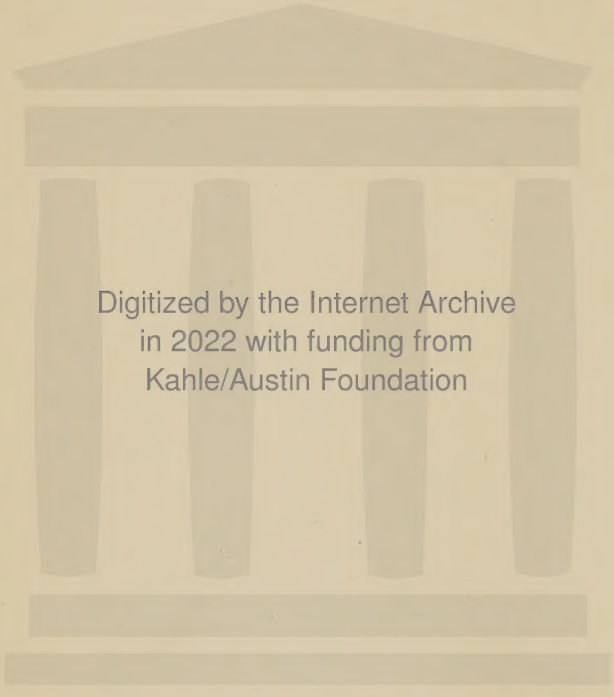
THE CHURCH IN GERMANY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THE CHURCH IN GERMANY

St. John's College
Greeley, Colo.

BY

S. BARING-GOULD, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "MEHALAH," "GERMANY, PAST AND PRESENT," "OLD COUNTRY LIFE," ETC.

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PREFACE.

In writing a history of the Church in Germany, one encounters several difficulties. Abundance of valuable and exhaustive works on the ecclesiastical history of Germany exist, from the dawn of Christianity to the end of the Carolingian period, but almost none concerning the subsequent history, till we come to the Reformation period. Among those that treat of the early period, I would mention especially Hauck, "Kirchen-Geschichte Deutschlands." The first vol. extends to the death of S. Boniface, published 1887. The second, in two parts, unfortunately reached me too late for consultation. These parts were published in 1889 and 1890 only. They give the history under the Carolingians. Another good book on the same period is Ellendorf, "Die Karolinger," 1838. For the history of the Church at the Reformation from the Roman Catholic side, there is Riffel, "Kirchengeschichte der neuesten Zeit," 1842; and of course from the Protestant side there are numbers, more or less good. But the intermediate period has been sadly overlooked, the reason being that ecclesiastical history

was so interwoven with political history that the story of one was actually the story of the other.

The deficiency will eventually be filled by Hauck, and my great regret is that I have had to undertake this task without his masterly guidance further than to the death of S. Boniface.

The difficulty of writing the history of the Church in Germany during the mediæval period is, as has been said, the fact that it is almost inextricably interlaced with the history of the empire. As the space accorded me did not allow of a history of Germany, I have done what appeared to me to be the right thing to do under the circumstances, that is, I have indicated the general condition of affairs ecclesiastical, and then given salient instances illustrative of the situation.

An English Churchman regards the Reformation in Germany from his own peculiar standpoint. He is not in cordial sympathy with a movement which destroys the very foundations of historic Christianity, and formulates a doctrine of free justification, that exercises a paralysing effect on the conscience; and yet he cannot deny that the exasperation caused by the wrong-doing of the Papacy provoked it, and that it was inevitable.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE object of this series of works is to lay before English Churchmen unbroken narratives of the chief events in the history of the National Churches of Christendom, from the time when they were first founded, to the present day. Twenty-five years ago the idea of producing such a series was mooted by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, the learned editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," but the plan was abandoned. It has at length been revived, and the name of one at least of the authors who were invited, a quarter of a century ago, to contribute to the proposed series, appears now on our list of ecclesiastical historians.

It is remarkable that no attempt has hitherto been made to give a complete history of church life and work in the various European countries. Not even in the languages of many of the nations themselves do we find such histories, and it has been left to English writers to produce, for the first time, a consecutive account of the actual growth, decay, and revival of Christian faith and practice in many of the nations of Christendom. There are voluminous works

of ecclesiastical history, which contain the records of the progress of Christianity in Europe, but it is a difficult and perplexing task for the reader to gather from these scattered records any clear conception of the consecutive events in the history of any one branch of the Catholic Church. It is hoped that these volumes will supply the want of a trustworthy record of the history of each National Church. Some of the ablest ecclesiastical writers of the day have been invited to contribute, and their names are a guarantee of the accuracy and lasting value of the works.

It is, perhaps, necessary to explain that the title of the series is not intended to imply that the Church in any country, whose history we are considering, is, at the present time, the community to which the greater mass of the inhabitants of that country belong. In some countries the remains of the old National Church are small and, in the eyes of the world, insignificant. In the United States of America, where there are so many sects and divisions, it would be extremely rash to say that the "Protestant Episcopal Church," although the oldest community of Christians in the northern part of the New World, was in any sense the Church of the whole nation. We are attempting to follow the history of the true Catholic Church in each country, to trace its origin and primal growth, to notice the gradual development of Papal power, the internal weakness, the reform movements, the heresies which arose and caused endless divisions and confusion, the revivals of truer knowledge and

purer faith, the severing of some branches of the true Vine, and all the events which constitute the absorbingly interesting and varied details in the annals of each Church.

Perchance as we mark the errors men have made, and mourn over the divisions, rents, and schisms of the severed robe of the Church of Christ, we may be enabled, in some measure, to repair the torn garment of the Bride. Perchance by the help of the Heavenly Bridegroom we may be enabled to forge at least one link of that chain which, we trust, will hereafter bind together all the Churches of a United Christendom.

THE EDITOR.

CONTENTS.

I.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES.

PAGE

Christianity among the Germans at the end of the 2nd Century—Claims of certain Churches to have been founded by Disciples of the Apostles not to be substantiated—The Population of what is now called Germany in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries—The Celts on the Moselle, in Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg—The Germanic Races, where first found—Alamanni, Burgundians, Marcomanni, Goths, Franks—The only flourishing Churches in Noricum and Rhætia—The Church in Germania I. and II.—Christianity at Trèves—Ausonius—Sidonius Apollinaris—Many cultured Christians very indifferent—Cologne—Mainz—Metz—Worms—Corruption of Morals in Roman Colonies—Rhætia—Augsburg—The Martyrdom of S. Afra—Chur—Ratisbon—Noricum—S. Severinus—The Alamanni overflow Swabia—The Goths—Their Arianism—Ulfilas 1

II.

THE ALAMANNI, BURGUNDIANS AND FRANKS.

The Huns move West—Displace the German Tribes—Goths—Alamanni—The Agri Decumates occupied—The Burgundians—Occupy Germania I.—Accept Christianity—Driven South—The Franks—Fall on

PAGE

Gaul — Occupy Batavia — Chlodovech defeats the Romans at Soissons—Progress of the Frank Kingdom —Its Division among the Sons of Chlodovech—Austria, Neustria, and Burgundia 18

III.

THE FRANKS AND CHRISTIANITY.

The Condition of the Gallo-Romans under the Franks—The Character of the Franks—Childerich's Treatment of the Church—The Marriage of Chlodovech—His Conversion—His conduct after Baptism—The General Consequences of his Baptism—Law against Heathen Practices—The Reverence of the first Frank Kings for the Bishops—Lavish Bounty shown to the Church—Loyalty of the Bishops to the Kings—Causes which tended to enrich the Church—The Activity of the Church 28

IV.

THE FALL OF THE FRANK CHURCH.

Royal Interference in the Affairs of the Church—The Kings appoint Bishops—The Bishops protest—But in vain—The Importance and Wealth of the Sees made them to be coveted by the Nobles—The Conversion of the Alamanni — S. Columbanus and S. Gall—The Bavarians — First Missionaries among them — The Thuringians—Clergy under no Episcopal Supervision —The Irish Missions—Founding of Luxeuil—Influence of Luxeuil in the East—S. Kilian of Würzburg—The Irish Missionaries failed to effect much—Their Lack of Organising Power—Social Transformation in the Frank Monarchy—Rise of the great Feudal Lords—Degradation of the Freemen—After the Death of Dagobert I., the great Vassals strive for Supreme Power—The Bishoprics and Abbeys given to Partisans —Pippin of Heristal—Charles Martell—Degradation and Demoralisation of the Church complete. . . . 40

V.

THE WORK OF S. BONIFACE.

PAGE

Early life of Boniface—He sails for Frisia—Returns to England—Goes to Rome—Is sent into Thuringia—The Scheme of Gregory II.—Makes a second attempt in Frisia—His missionary success in Hesse—He revisits Rome—Consecrated bishop—With metropolitan powers—Charles Martell suffers him to proceed—Resumes work in Hesse—Fells the oak of Geislar—Appeals to England for helpers—Response—Monks and Nuns come to his assistance—First visit to Bavaria, and failure—Gregory III.—Boniface revisits Rome—Again goes to Bavaria, and reorganises the Church there—Founds bishoprics and abbeys—Founds bishoprics in Thuringia and Hesse—Death of Charles Martell—Carlmann invites Boniface to reform the Frank Church—Calls synods—Odilo of Bavaria revolts, and is defeated—Eichstadt founded—Gewiliep of Mainz deposed—Mainz created the Metropolitan See—Carlmann resigns—Boniface's letters to Fuldrad—Resolves to make another attempt in Frisia—His death—The services he rendered to the German Church 58

VI.

CHARLES THE GREAT.

Providence raises up special men to execute special work—Such a man, Charles the Great—Decay of Discipline since the death of S. Boniface—The Clergy and Hunting—Schools instituted—The "Missi"—Episcopal Visitations—Charles strengthens the position of Metropolitans and Bishops—Synods—His Rule as head of the Church—The Arch-chaplain's office . . 76

VII.

THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS.

Two Germanies: one Christian, the other heathen—The arrival of the Saxons—The Contests with the Saxons—

PAGE

Charles the Great attempts to subdue them—Revolt again and again—Wittekind heads the Saxons—Their stubborn Resistance to Charles—Defeat of Wittekind—Submits to Baptism—A fresh revolt—Bishopric of Bremen founded—The Saxons, once converted, become zealous Christians—Translations and Versifications—The Bishoprics of Bremen, Paderborn, Minden, Osnabrück 86

VIII.

CHARLES CROWNED EMPEROR.

The Coronation of Charles as Emperor of the West—Charles unconscious of the intention of Leo III.—The Mosaic of the triclinium at the Lateran—What the Coronation implied—Disastrous both to the Empire and to the Papacy—It provoked the Reformation . . 99

IX.

THE LATER CAROLINGIANS AND THE CHURCH.

The Character of Louis the Pious — Reaction — The Discontent of the great vassals—Discontent of the Hierarchy—Breaking out of Revolt—Defects in the Carolingian Constitution — The Herr-bann — Disappearance of the Freeholders—Union of Civil and Military powers in the hands of the Counts—What Charles had done for the Church—Could not blind the eyes of the Bishops to the fact that he had made the Crown supreme—Wealth of the Church—The Collegiate Churches—Reform by Chrodegang—The two aims of the Hierarchy—Limitation of Royal Power—Exaltation of the Papacy—The forged Capitularies—The forged Decretals—Their acceptance—Writers of the Period—The Frank Church and Image worship 104

X.

THE CHURCH AT THE EXTINCTION OF THE CAROLINGIANS.

The result to the Church of Papal Supremacy—Of the decline of the Royal Power—Abuse of their office by

PAGE

the Arch-deacons—The Canons recover their Independence—The parochial Clergy—Enforcement of Celibacy—The Permanency of the Conditions in which the Church was placed—Louis the Child—Hatto of Mainz—The Babenberg feud—Bishop Solomon of Constance—The feud with the Vice-Dukes of Swabia . 122

XI.

THE MONASTERIES.

The Utility of the Monasteries—The services they rendered to Culture and Science—The transcription of Books—The Abbey of S. Gall—Its Scribes—The principal room in S. Gall in the 9th and 10th centuries—Iso—Moengal—The Song-school—Notker Balbulus—Tutilo—Walram—The abbey Library—The abbey Schools—The outer and the inner Schools—The Trivium and Quadrivium—Service done to Philology. 136

XII.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE SAXON EMPERORS.

The Saxon dynasty—Henry I. refuses to be crowned by the Archbishop of Mainz—Coronation of Otto I.—Transformation of the Monarchy into one aristocratico-monarchical—The Dukes recover power—How the Saxon emperors attempted to limit it—Their reliance on the Church—Investiture—Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn—His rapacity—Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim—Willigis, archbishop of Mainz—The contest over Gandersheim—The Synod of Pöhlde—Writers of the Epoch: Widukind, Dietmar, Roswitha—Cultural advantage of intercourse with Rome 155

XIII.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE FRANK AND HOHENSTAUFFEN EMPERORS.

The policy of Carolingian and Saxon emperors the same—The Church under the various races—The Bishops

PAGE

become princes of the Empire—And military leaders —Simony—The divided authority in the Church—The Popes purposely excite rebellion in Germany—S. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne—Kidnaps the young prince Henry—Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen—Rapacity of these Prelates—Anno and the Citizens of Cologne—Contest between the Abbot of Fulda and the Bishop of Hildesheim — Arnold, archbishop of Mainz — Murdered—The Abbess Hildegarde—The ecclesiastical provinces of Germany — The foundation of Bamberg—Gregory VII. and the celibacy of the Clergy — Gregory and Investitures — Pilgrimages — The Crusades—The moral result of the encouragement of the Crusades—Massacre of the Jews—Conquest of Sclav races in the East—The Brotherhood of the Sword—The Teutonic Order—Retrospect 169

XIV.

THE HIERARCHY IN THE 12TH CENTURY.

S. Bernard lays bare the causes of Corruption in his age—S. Bernard on the Encroachments of the Papacy—On Appeals to Rome—How these destroy all Discipline—Hildebert of Tours on Appeals—The parallel operations of Church and State—Confusion produced by investing the same Officer with functions in both—Simony—Gerohus of Reigersperg on the Bishops—S. Bernard on the Bishops—The Canons—The Clergy generally 207

XV.

THE CHURCH IN THE 13TH [AND 14TH CENTURIES.

The factors of Modern Civilization—The Church preserves its Classic Culture during the inroads of Teutonic Barbarians—Chivalry, the regulation of Destructive Force —The Burgessdom, the development of Trade and Manufacture—The Nursery of the Homely and Social Virtues—The rise of the German Cities—The Consti-

PAGE

tution therein — The Patricians — The Guilds — The Bishops and the Cities — The story of Archbishops Conrad and Engelbert of Cologne — The story of Archbishop Burkhard III. of Magdeburg — The Prelates and the Empire — Encourage Disorder — Opposition Kings — The history of Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz and the Election of Adolf of Nassau and of Albert of Austria 225

XVI.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE CHURCH.

Peoples, like Individuals, have their Times of Childhood and Adolescence — The Renaissance, the Epoch when Germany passed out of Infancy — The Renaissance, the Revolt of Individualism — The new Birth of Paganism — Corruption of the Mediæval Clergy exaggerated — The study of Classic Antiquity in Italy — It is carried into Germany — Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini — Humanism — Its rapid spread — Philosophy and Theology — Attempt to combine them in Scholasticism — The German Humanists — Reuchlin — Erasmus — Zwingli — Ulric von Hutten — Epistolæ obscurorum virorum — Mysticism — The double Nature in Man — The function of the Soul — Forms of Mysticism — The German Mystics — Eckhart — Nicolas of Basle — Tauler — The Friends of God — The main Forces that brought about the Reformation, Humanism and Mysticism — Inevitable Consequences of the Revolt 259

XVII.

THE PRELUDE TO THE REFORMATION.

Necessity for the Reformation of the Empire — The Institution of Prince-bishops and Prince-abbots — Efforts made by Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, to strengthen and consolidate the Empire — Frustrated by Maximilian I. — The love of the Germans for the Hohenstauffen family — They considered the Papacy guilty of

PAGE

the Extinction of that Family—Frederick II.'s Appeal to Christendom against the Pope — Intolerable Exactions of the See of Rome — Respect for the Apostolic Throne ceases—The Schism—John XXIII. —His abandoned Life—Sale of Indulgences—Council of Constance—Huss—Deposition of the Pope—He withdraws his Abdication—Election of Martin V.—Mistaken Policy—He sets himself to neutralise the Efforts of the Council—It dissolves—The Council of Pavia—The Council of Basle—Eugenius IV.—The Hussite Wars—Eugenius dissolves the Council—It refuses to be dissolved—He summons the Council of Florence—Failure and Dispersion of the Council of Basle—Confidence of Christendom in Councils shaken —Church and State—The Pragmatic Sanction . . 281

XVIII.

THE REFORMATION.

Martin Luther—His sincerity—His Deficiency in Culture and in Political Insight—Luther's great Doctrine of Free Justification — Compared with the Catholic Doctrine of Justification—The dangerous Nature of his Doctrine—Indulgences : the Doctrine of—Luther's Appeal to the German Nobility—Burns the Bull of Excommunication—The Diet of Worms—The Wartburg Retreat—Luther's System essentially one of Individualism— Nürnberg — Carlstadt — Spread of the Reformation—The Peasants' War—Further spread of Lutheranism—The Episcopal Jurisdiction transferred to the Princes—The Augsburg Confession—Political questions involved — Münzer defeated — The Anabaptists of Münster — Würtemberg, Basle, Geneva accept the Reformation—Brandenburg and Thuringia —The Schmalcald Union—The Holy Alliance—The demand for a General Council—Evaded, postponed by the Popes—The Council of Trent summoned—The Protestants refuse to acknowledge it—Calvinism—Zwinglianism—Lutheranism 302

XIX.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

PAGE

Popularity of the Reformation—Reasons for this—Strife about Secular and Ecclesiastical territories—The cooling of Enthusiasm among the Protestants—Revival of Zeal among the Catholics—Disturbance of Ideas by rapid Changes in Religion—Aristocratic tendency of Lutheranism—Luther impatient of Opposition—His Subserviency to the Princes—Moral Degeneration of the Protestants—The Result of Free Justification—Increased Strictness of Life among Catholics—The Jesuits—Theologic Controversies among the Protestants—The Spread of the Jesuits—The Capuchins—The Thirty Years' War—The Peace of Westphalia—Petrifaction 333

XX.

RELIGIOUS STAGNATION.

Condition of Religion after the Thirty Years' War—General Religious Indifference—Pietism—Spenner—Franke—Zinzendorf—Gottfried Arnold—The Magdeburg Centuriators—Arnold follows their Steps—The Roman Church in Germany—Futile Attempts at Union—Conversions—No Famous Preachers—Accumulation of Bishoprics in the same hands—Appointment of Nuncios—Hontheim—Reforms of Maria Theresa—Of Joseph II.—The Congress of Ems—The Archbishops insincere—The Archbishop of Trèves—Of Cologne—The University of Bonn—The Archbishop of Mainz—The Archbishop of Salzburg—Expulsion of Protestants—The Court at Salzburg—Protestantism in Prussia—Rationalism 349

XXI.

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PAGE

The French Revolution—Suppression of the Ecclesiastical Electorates after the Peace of Luneville—The Empire comes to an end—Congress of Vienna—The Resettlement of the Dioceses in Germany by Papal Bulls—The Schism of Ronge—The "German-Catholic Church"—Its End—The Decree of Papal Infallibility—The "Alt-Katholik Church"—Its Decline—The Kultur-Kampf—Despotic Conduct of the Princes in the matter of Religion—The Suppression of the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches and Erection of an Evangelical Church—Decline of Faith among German Protestants—What Prospect is in Store for Religion in Germany. 370

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN GERMANY.

I.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES.

Christianity among the Germans at the end of the 2nd Century—Claims of certain Churches to have been founded by Disciples of the Apostles not to be substantiated—The Population of what is now called Germany in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries—The Celts on the Moselle, in Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg—The Germanic Races, where first found—Alamanni, Burgundians, Marcomanni, Goths, Franks—The only flourishing Churches in Noricum and Rhætia—The Church in Germania I. and II.—Christianity at Trèves—Ausonius—Sidonius Apollinaris—Many cultured Christians very indifferent — Cologne — Mainz — Metz—Worms—Corruption of Morals in Roman Colonies—Rhætia —Augsburg—The Martyrdom of S. Afra—Chur—Ratisbon —Noricum—S. Severinus—The Alamanni overflow Swabia —The Goths—Their Arianism—Ulfilas.

THE beginnings of the Church in what we now call Germany are obscure rather than uncertain. We know that Christianity had found foothold on the Danube, on the Rhine, and on the Moselle ; but we have no record as to who brought it there, nor do we know much as to the fortunes of those Christian communities that did exist on these rivers.

The first notice we have of Christianity among the Germans is from the pen of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons—Bishop among the Celts, as he says of himself (A.D. 177–202)—who in his treatise against Heresies, in a beautiful passage in which he compares the One Faith, spread throughout the world, to the one sunlight, everywhere diffused by the one solar orb of heaven, says, "Though the languages of the world differ, yet is their tradition one. For the churches that have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down aught different, nor do those in Spain, in Gaul, in the East, in Libya, &c." (i. 10, 3). Tertullian, much about the same time, in his treatise against the Jews, reckons the Germans among those who had bowed the neck to the yoke of Christ. This passage may be merely rhetorical, but such is not the case with that of Irenæus, who must have had certain information as to the progress of the Gospel in Germany.

We can, however, draw no other conclusion from his words than that, at such an early period, there was no more than the rudest beginnings of a church among the Germans, that the Church had, indeed, extended beyond the Roman colonists living on their confines, and that these beginnings were to be found only at rare intervals.

When Irenæus wrote, he meant no more than that Christianity in some sort was to be found in the two Roman provinces of Germania I., or Superior, of which Moguntiacum (Mainz) was the capital, and Germania II., or Inferior, of which the capital was

Colonia Agrippina (Cologne). He certainly did not mean that it had penetrated into Germanic Transrhenana, or Barbarica, which was untouched by Roman civilization.

Trèves, Cologne, Mainz, Metz, etc., claim to have had their churches founded by emissaries of the Apostles, Trèves by Maternus, a disciple of S. Peter, Metz by Clemens and Patiens, disciples of S. Peter and S. John, Mainz by Crescens, the companion of S. Paul; but such claims must be rejected: these foundations belong to ecclesiastical fiction. The earliest bishop of whom anything authentic is known at Trèves, is Agricius, who died in 332. It is true that an inscription of the 5th century has been discovered, set up by Cyril, Bishop of Trèves, in which he mentions an oratory there dedicated to SS. Eucharius and Valerius, whom he believed to have been earlier bishops of the see; but it does not follow that they were what he supposed, certainly not that they belonged to the Apostolic age.

Arnobius, who wrote at the beginning of the 4th century, mentions the fact that there were Christians among the Alamanni. The superscription of the Book on Synods, which S. Hilary of Poictiers addressed in A.D. 358 to "Dominis et beatissimis Fratribus et Coepiscopis Provinciæ Germaniæ Primæ, et Germaniæ Secundæ, et Primæ Belgicæ, &c.," shows us that in the middle of the 4th century there were organised churches under bishops in these Roman provinces, probably, if not certainly, at Cologne, Mainz, and Trèves.

Let us now very briefly consider of what the population consisted in what is now called Germany.

The whole of the Moselle district was inhabited by the Belgæ; Gauls and the Celtic race occupied Alsatia, the Vosges, the Black Forest, the whole of modern Switzerland, and the high table-land of Upper Bavaria, from the Lech to Passau, which had the genuine Celtic name of Boiodurum. But the German races were pressing upon them from north and east. The Marcomanni occupied the north bank of the Danube and the basin of Bohemia. The Alamanni were crushing them together from the Main; this was a coalition of several tribes, the Teucterii and the Usipii. They first appear in history in the 3rd century. Caracalla fought them on the Main, A.D. 211, but did not defeat them. The Burgundians, originally planted on the Baltic, were sliding south; they were soon well inland between the Oder and Vistula. In the 3rd century they were on the Rhine, and there, in 277, the Emperor Probus defeated them. The Goths were echeloned along the Sarmatian frontier from the Baltic to the Black Sea, soon to be sent in wild fury of fear and rage flying westward and southward before the Huns. The Lombards, once much further north, were halting about the Werra and Upper Weser, pausing before they made their plunge over the Alps upon Northern Italy. The Franks, unheard of by name before the middle of the 3rd century, began their incursions into Gaul when Aurelian was stationed at Mainz as tribune of the sixth legion.

The name was new, but not the race. They comprised all those Germanic tribes that lay along the middle and lower Rhine. They formed two great tribes, the Ripuarian and the Salic Franks, the former on the Rhine, the latter on the Yssel. They comprised all those tribes that were known to Tacitus as Bructeri, Chamavi, Ampsivarii, Chatti, and Chatuarii. Carausius, who should have defended the frontier against their invasion, obtained his own election as emperor in Britain in 287, and allowed the Salic Franks unmolested to take possession of the Batavian islands and the country up to the Scheld. The Celtic wave, that had rolled over Europe, and occupied Northern Italy, modern Bavaria, Alsatia and Gaul, Belgium and Britain, had flowed from the East up the Danube. It had left its representatives along the Danube, and when colonies of Roman soldiers had been planted among them, the Celts, with that curious aptitude for giving up their own tongue and taking that of their conquerors, which was afterwards seen in Gaul, had come to speak Latin. It was the same elsewhere. They became Romanised, and as they became Romanised were prepared to accept Christianity, which came to them with the Roman colonists in their midst. Of that more presently. Rhætia and Noricum had flourishing Christian communities in these provinces, when the Church was making little way among the Germans on the Rhine.

We shall probably get a tolerable notion of the condition of the Church in Germania Prima and Secunda, of which we have no records, if we see what

it was at Trèves. Trèves (Augusta Trevirorum), since the reign of Augustus had been one of the most important stations for the defence of the frontier. It was connected by a main highway with Lyons, and from it radiated other main roads to Cologne, Mainz, &c. It was not merely a military post: it was a great centre of trade. It was adorned with such splendid palaces, temples, and other public buildings that it was called the second Rome. After the division of the empire under Diocletian (A.D. 287), it became the residence of several emperors. There may have been Christians in the city at the end of the 1st century, but we have no evidence to prove it. It did not begin to decline till the 5th century. There was certainly a Christian community in it at the close of the 2nd century, but the first bishop whose name can at all be fixed was Agricius, who attended the Council of Arles in A.D. 314. At the beginning of the 4th century the number of Christians must have been few, for only a small church fulfilled the requirements of the community till A.D. 336. It was not rebuilt till S. Athanasius was there in exile. No doubt that, in the reign of Constantine, a considerable accession of numbers came to the Church; yet when, in 385, S. Martin came to Trèves, it would appear from his life by Sulpicius Severus, that one church still sufficed for the community. It was not till the beginning of the 5th century that a second church was built. And perhaps it may be allowable to judge of the quality of the adherents to the Church from Ausonius, the Christian poet, who was count, quæstor,

præfect, and, in 379, consul. Valentinian I. made him the tutor to his son Gratian. He was a friend of S. Paulinus, afterwards Bishop of Nola. He wrote a poem on the Moselle, and his compositions are valuable as showing how old ideas and new got melted together in the mind of a luxurious, easy-going, indifferent adherent to the new religion that was favoured by the State. He invokes Janus, speaks of God's presence everywhere as an expression allowable as a poetic exaggeration, and makes the question of life after death an open one. The emperor was to him "a visible god," and yet he talks of the Creator of the world. Religious expressions were to him empty rhetorical phrases. It was hardly otherwise with many cultured Romans who adopted Christianity as a fashion, and such were not the men to strive to advance the Gospel among the heathen. Sidonius Apollinaris, who is even reckoned as a saint, in like manner mixed up mythological expressions with Christian phrases; even for an inscription for a tombstone he used words more suitable to a heathen than to a Christian. When he became a bishop, he employed more Christian phraseology, but turned from the Gothic conquerors with loathing, and without a thought of making an effort to bring them to the knowledge of the truth.* On sarcophagi, Cupid and Psyche balance figures of the Good Shepherd; and, on a casket in the British Museum, a Christian inscription is associated with a representation of the

* A charming account of Sidonius Apollinaris is in Hodgkin's 'Italy and her Invaders.'

toilette of Venus. This was inevitable, when men and women of the upper classes joined the Church without conviction.

That the Christian Church at Trèves was composed of Romans only is rendered probable by the fact that among the Christian inscriptions there discovered, there is not to be found a single name that belongs to a German or to a Celt.

What was the case at Trèves was the case elsewhere—at Cologne, at Mainz, at Tongern. Such Christians as were found there were residents come from elsewhere, and brought their religion with them.

Cologne was held to be the largest city on the Rhine. Since A.D. 51 it was a colony, and, like Trèves, a great centre of trade, frequented by numerous merchants from Italy and Gaul, who there met the barbarians from the north. The Church of Cologne pretends to have had as its founder Maternus, who is also claimed by Trèves. The real Maternus of history was, however, no disciple of S. Peter, but a Bishop of Colonia Agrippina, who attended a synod in 313 at Rome held against the Donatists, and in the following year one held at Arles. He was succeeded by Euphrates, who assisted at the Sardican Council (A.D. 343 or 344). Moguntiacum (Mainz) was the most important military station in Upper Germany; it was the place of residence of the Roman Governor, and the head-quarters of the Legio XXII. Primigenia. The assumption that Crescens, disciple of S. Paul, founded the Church there is not older than the 12th or 13th century, and

is absolutely worthless. No bishop from Mainz attended the synod of Arles, at which was Maternus of Cologne; none took part in the Arian disputes that then raged, and the first bishop of Mainz whose name is known to us is Martin, who attended a synod at Cologne in 346. But the greatest uncertainty reigns as to the genuineness of the acts of this synod, in which twelve Gallican bishops are said to have taken part. If we could accept these acts as genuine, then we would allow that in the middle of the 4th century Tongern, Speyer, Worms, Strasburg, and Augusta Rauracorum (near Basle) were sees occupied by bishops. The first bishop of Metz may have been a Clemens, certainly not the disciple of S. Paul, but a man of that name who ruled there about A.D. 260. At the Sardican Council, Victor, Bishop of Metz, was present.

The first notice we have of a Christian community at Mainz we owe to the heathen, Ammianus Marcellinus, who tells us that the Alamanni took advantage of the day being Sunday, when most of the citizens were in church, to make their assault on the town. This was in A.D. 368. At the beginning of the 5th century, when the city was taken by the Germans, S. Jerome informs us that many thousands who had taken refuge in the church were slaughtered. That there were Christians at Worms at an early date we know from inscriptions found there. Moreover, from the towns Christianity spread along the banks of the river, as is shown by the number of Christian inscriptions of the 4th and 5th centuries that have been

found at Bingen, Boppard, Rüdesheim, &c.* We can hardly doubt that by the end of the 5th century, or beginning of the 6th, Christianity prevailed in the towns, though, as we may gather from a curious poem on the Rinderpest of the 5th century by Severus Sanctus Endelechius, the majority of the rustics in the country remained heathens. No great effort to convert the pagans in the district about the Moselle appears to have been made before S. Maximin (A.D. 332–349), who was assisted by his successor in the see of Trèves, S. Paulinus, and by Castor, Lubentius, and Quiriacus. Salvian, a native of either Cologne or Trèves, who became a priest at Marseilles in the 5th century, gives us a terrible picture of the general demoralisation in the colonial cities; so utter and radical was it, that he deemed the Gothic invasion to be God's scourge on the cultured world, which had become Christian in name, but had not renounced heathen vices.

Now let us turn our eyes to the east—to Rhætia and Noricum. Rhætia may be said to have extended from the Upper Rhine to the gates of the Danube at Passau. Since the end of the 1st century, Vindelicia had been united with it, and its capital was Augsburg, a great centre of traffic. The Vindelicians, on the high table-land, were Celts; the Rhætians, south of them, in the mountains, were Celts mingled with remnants of an earlier population akin to the Etruscans.

The Norici, east of these, in the Pusterthal, Pinzgau,

* The German early Christian inscriptions are now in process of publication by Dr. E. X. Kraus, Herder, Freiburg i. B.

and Salzburg land were Celts, remnants of that flood which had overflowed the Alps, and spilt itself into Northern Italy, forming Gallia Cisalpina. The Celts had travelled up the Danube, the Germans had swept along from the east to their north.

Augsburg, at an early date, was a flourishing Roman colony, and an important mart. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius (268–270), the highest civil and military powers were united in the hands of the Legatus pro prætore, who was stationed at Augsburg, and by that time both Rhætia and Noricum were thoroughly Romanised.

That there were Christians at Augsburg, with an organised Church, is certain from the authentic acts of S. Afra, who suffered martyrdom there in 304. These acts are in two parts : those of the martyrdom, which may be regarded as genuine, and the earlier part, concerning her conversion, a later and apocryphal addition. She and several companions suffered by fire under the Governor Caius. There must have been at that date priests in Augsburg, and a bishop, who is said to have come from Gerona, but who was probably a regionary bishop, named Narcissus. That he was Bishop of Augsburg does not appear, and we have no mention of successors. Nor does the list of bishops of Augsburg begin earlier than about A.D. 590 with a certain Sosymus, after whom the names are German.

Soon after 297 Rhætia was divided into two provinces—Rhætia Prima, with Chur (Curia) as its capital, and Rhætia Secunda, with its capital at

Augsburg. Chur venerates a certain Lucius as its founder, but his date is uncertain.

At Ratisbon inscriptions have been found of the latter half of the 3rd century, bearing Christian symbols. Noricum had early become Latinised; under Diocletian it was divided into two provinces—Noricum Ripense on the Danube, and Noricum Mediterraneum. It received Christianity from Aquileia and Pannonia. Lorch (Laureacum) on the Enns was the most important city in Riparian Noricum in the 2nd century. The first apostle of this district is said to have been S. Maximilian, a regionary bishop in the 3rd century; but of him little or nothing is known. S. Florian suffered a martyr's death by drowning in the Enns, in A.D. 304. S. Athanasius testifies to the organisation of the Church in Noricum.* Later, Lauriacum and Tiburnia are mentioned as episcopal sees. In Rhætia, in addition to Augsburg, there was a Christian community and a bishop at Sabonia (Seben). Emona, the present Laibach, was the seat of a bishop in the 4th century.

Christianity became the dominant faith in Noricum, and remained so till the great Rugian devastations at the close of the 5th century, after which only relics of Christian communities and of a Romance population remained.

The precious life of S. Severinus, a contemporary work, gives us a graphic picture of the condition of Noricum and its church at this period, when the Roman power broke down on the Danube and in the Alps.

* Apol. cont. Arian. 1; Hist. Arian. 28.

Not only were there churches at Juvavum, the present Salzburg, but the other towns on the Danube, Joviacum, Astura, and Commagena, places that disappeared with the retreat of the Romans, Castellum Cucullæ (Kuchel on the Salzach), Batava (now Passau), Boiodurum (opposite it), Quintana (Plattling), and other places. Laureacum had several churches. Alamanni, Rugii, Heruli troubled the Roman frontier on north and west; from the east the Goths threatened, and the Empire was unable to resist them. The troops on the Danube were without their pay; they were even left insufficiently supplied with weapons. As the barbarian waves swept onwards, the Latin-speaking population deserted the cities with their priests and their sacred vessels, and sought a refuge in Italy.

The epoch was between 455 and 460. Attila, the great king of the Huns, was dead, his empire had broken up. The whole centre of Europe was in a state of anarchy and war, when there appeared in Noricum a stranger; his speech showed him to be an African Roman. He had certainly spent some time among the hermits of the East; he would tell none whence he came, and what was his family.

"If you take me to be a runaway slave," said he, smiling, "get ready money to redeem me when my master comes to ask me back."

He settled first at a town which his biographer calls Casturis; and, lodging with the warden of the church, lived there a hermit's life. He ate nothing till set of sun, except on festivals, went barefoot in the

deepest snow, and had no other bed than his mantle cast on the earth. His name was Severinus, and that was all he would say about himself. He soon acquired an amazing influence over the population. Year by year the misery, the poverty in the province increased, the barbarians carried away captives and held them to ransom. Severinus boldly undertook to organise charity on a large scale to relieve the necessitous, and recover the captives. He persuaded the people voluntarily to pay tithes, and these tithes he employed for charitable purposes. The Romance population revered him as a prophet, even the heathen and Arian invaders were overawed by his personality.

Severinus made no disguise of the vastness of the religious difference that separated him from the Arian chiefs and princes; but they respected him for his holiness and his sincerity. He stood as a mediator between the invaded and the invaders, and softened the horrors of war and conquest. He died before Odoacer, in 488, withdrew the Latin population from their cities on the Danube. He had foreseen that the barbarians must master the country, and his last request to his disciples was, when the retreat took place, to carry his bones with them.

Though the bulk of the Romans left the country, the entire Latinised population did not go. In church matters there was no alteration. In 591, Tiburnia was still the seat of a bishop. In Tyrol a Romance people still remained, speaking a Latin tongue, thoughout the middle ages. The Church

and Christianity did not disappear till the Sclavs swept over Noricum and Rhætia.

After the retreat of the Romans, the Alamanni spread to the East—the Lech did not always form the limit of Swabia; and when this expansion of the Alamanni took place, by being brought in contact with the Goths they were in part converted to Arianism.

Then came the Bavarians—the old Marcomanni—who left their ancient seat in Bohemia, driven westward by the Sclavs, and they rolled over the high tableland north of the Tyrolese Alps and the Allgäu. In all likelihood they were, at the time, Arians.

We must now cast a hasty glance at the Goths. These, the ancient Getæ,* the greatest of the Teutonic nations, were originally planted in north-eastern Prussia. In the later years of the 2nd century they began to move away, and they made themselves felt, not only along the Danube, but also on the northern coast of the Euxine; but it was the advance of the Huns (A.D. 370) which brought the Goths finally in an overwhelming wave on the Roman Empire.

The Ostro or Eastern Goths, who were the first to encounter the Huns, yielded and became their subjects. The Wisi or Western Goths, panic-stricken, obtained leave from the Emperor Valens to cross the Danube into Mœsia, where a number of their fellow-

* This question has been discussed, and the identity disputed, but the overwhelming balance of probability is in favour of the identification. See Ramsay, 'The Gothic Handbook,' 1889.

countrymen had been previously allowed to settle at a time when, being Christians, they were persecuted, and had in consequence migrated with their Bishop Wulfila.

The Ostro-Goths, after the defeat of Attila at Chalons (A.D. 451), revolted and recovered their independence, and invaded Italy under Theodoric, who had received a sort of commission from the Emperor Zeno to recover Italy from Odoacer and the Heruli, and to govern it under the name of the Emperor. The Heruli were overpowered, Rome received Theodoric as a deliverer, and Italy a line of Gothic kings whose rule extended, with more or less completeness, over a period of sixty years.

The Goths were Arians. With them in Italy we have nothing more to do. One word must, however, be given to Ulfilas, or Wulfila, before we dismiss the Goths.

This remarkable man was born among the Wisi-Goths, north of the Danube, A.D. 311, and at the age of twenty-one was sent to Constantinople as one of a party of hostages. Most likely a Christian from the first, he there cultivated letters, and was ordained first lector and then bishop. His people were still north of the Danube, and he laboured among them for several years previous to the migrations into Mœsia. The general rush of the Wisi-Goths across the Danube followed in A.D. 376, when acceptance of Christianity was one of the conditions imposed on them by the Emperor Valens. Arianism was, at the time, the prevailing faith of the

Empire, and it was that form of Christianity to which Ulfilas leaned, according to his own declarations, and his influence over his people was so great that they accepted his creed without demur. He died in 381; to him is universally ascribed the Gothic version of the Scriptures, portions of which still remain and are the most precious, if not the only monuments of the tongue that remain to us.*

* See 'Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths, together with an account of the Gothic churches,' by C. A. A. Scott, Cambridge, 1885; also Ramsay, 'The Gothic Handbook,' 1889.

II.

THE ALAMANNI, BURGUNDIANS AND FRANKS.

The Huns move West—Displace the German Tribes—Goths—Alamanni—The Agri Decumates occupied—The Burgundians—Occupy Germania I.—Accept Christianity—Driven South—The Franks—Fall on Gaul—Occupy Batavia—Chlodovech defeats the Romans at Soissons—Progress of the Frank Kingdom—Its Division among the Sons of Chlodovech—Austria, Neustria, and Burgundia.

FROM remote times, in the highlands of the Altai, had lived the Huns, a wild nomad race, some belonging to the Mongol stock, others to the great Turkish stock. The rulers of China in vain sought to stem the advance of these devastating barbarians, partly by building a wall against them, partly by coming to terms with them and paying them tribute. In the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era the Chinese succeeded in breaking the abhorred yoke off their necks, as the Hun empire began to dissolve through intestine quarrels. Some of the hordes under Chinese domination submitted to learn the arts of peace, but the wilder and more vigorous hordes turned to the west to seek new fields where to devastate. Their host speedily divided into two branches.

One settled down on the fertile plains watered by the Oxus and Jaxartes, before they poured their

waters into the Caspian Sea, and, under the name of the White Huns, abandoned some of their ferocity, and assumed milder and more civilized modes of life. The other continued its wanderings towards the north-west, and followed their wonted nomad life on the vast plains of the Volga. In the 4th century, pressed on from the rear by other races, excited by the rumours they heard of the wealth of the west, they mounted their horses, packed up their tents, and prepared for a new migration. In the year 375 they swarmed over the Volga, like a flight of locusts, and fell on the Alani, who were the possessors of the land between the Volga and the Don. The Alani, a gallant pastoral race akin in blood to the Medo-Persians, who worshipped, as their god of war, a naked sword planted upright in the soil, after a desperate resistance gave way before the countless hordes of invaders. One branch fled to the Caucasus, as to a tower of refuge, but another paused for awhile on the borders of the Baltic, where they united with German races to break into the Roman Empire, and find for themselves fresh homes in Gaul and Spain.

The Huns, of hideous aspect and barbarous manner, remorseless in their cruelty, and without the elements of nobility in their character, filled their neighbours in the west with terror. United with such of the Alani as they had forced into submission, they rolled down on the Ostro-Goths, between the Don and the Dnieper, and crushed them into subjection. The Wisi-Goths we have already followed in their flight before them.

Other Germanic races were set in motion. There ensued a general rush westward. But indeed they had begun to move before the Goths broke in on the Empire, probably impelled forward by similar causes. The Alamanni threatening the Romans beyond the Rhine, had been met, but not defeated, by Caracalla in 218 at Mainz. Hardly fifty years more, and they sent their parties of plunderers under the walls of Ravenna. The Agri Decumates, the high table-land of the springs of the Danube, and the basin of the Neckar, fell to them under Gallienus. The Rhine became the frontier of the Empire; the achievements of Julian and Valentinian did not avail further than to keep them off from the Imperial cities on the left bank. S. Jerome knew the Rhine as the frontier stream of the Empire, and so completely forgotten were the old regions of the Agri Decumates, that Ausonius was able, without provoking a laugh, to say that Valentinian, by his campaign against the Alamanni, had discovered the sources of the Danube.

Before the Romans withdrew from the Agri Decumates Christianity had been planted there, no doubt, but not firmly, and not a single Christian inscription of that period has been found in Baden and Würtemberg. With the withdrawal of the Romans, the feeble seeds of Christianity expired. The invading Alamanni did not come on German inhabitants in this region. The earlier population had been Celtic; but all those who had participated in Roman civilization, retreated with the legions. The last struggle with the Alamanni on the German side of the Rhine was

in 378. At the beginning of the 5th century the Alamanni had crossed the Rhine and taken the left bank as far as the Vosges. By the second half of that century they had conquered and occupied all that part of Switzerland that lies north of the Alps, and had driven the Helvetii from the sources of the Rhone. Moreover, they spread eastwards, and occupied a portion of Vindelicia. Here they came in contact with the strongest rooted plants of Christianity. It does not appear that they eradicated them. In Augsburg certainly Christianity lingered on; so also did the church of Windisch, and on the Rhine, Augusta Rauracorum (Augst near Basle), and Chur.

We hear in the 5th century of a Christian Alamannic chief called Gibald; but the mass of the people remained heathen till much later.

The north-eastern neighbours of the Alamanni were the Burgundians. Although bitter enemies of the Roman Empire, they were brought, by their proximity to the Alamanni, into conflict with them also. The Alamanni stood in their way, and moreover held the salt mines, and the trade route by which alone salt could reach them. In 406 and 407, when the Vandals and Alani broke into Gaul, the Burgundians associated themselves with them. They ravaged Gaul with the utmost ruthlessness till the usurper Constantine succeeded in checking them. He came to terms with them, and the Burgundians settled down on Gallic soil. Their king, Gondicar, in 411 supported Jovinus in his assumption of the purple, and joined forces with him when he marched into Southern Gaul.

When the Burgundians settled along the left bank of the Rhine, from Mainz to Worms, the Roman emperors sought to use them as protectors against the Alamanni. They held the old province of Germania Prima, and were brought at once in contact with well-established and flourishing Christian churches. Orosius, who wrote his Chronicle very soon after they had taken possession of the province (413–417), says, "By God's providence they became Catholic Christians, attended to our clergy, lead lives gentle and peaceful and innocent, and do not treat the Gauls as subjects, but as Christian brothers." The Eastern Burgundians, also a quiet people, occupied chiefly with hewing timber in their vast forests, but who had much to suffer from the Huns, determined, in 430, to become Christians, sent for a Gaulish bishop, received instruction, and were baptized in a body. "Since then," says Socrates, "the people are devoted with warm attachment to Christianity." The bishop who instructed and baptized them is believed to have been Crotoald of Worms.

This was the first German race that passed over bodily into the Catholic Church, and the conversion was full of promise, for the Burgundian was a race like that of the Goths, highly susceptible to culture. But Providence had ordered otherwise. The German Church was not to begin its life among the Burgundians. The conversion of the Burgundians remained without result. The reason was that the strength of the race was exhausted before it could unfold. When in 435 the Burgundians attacked the

province of Belgica Prima, they were overthrown by Aëtius; the Romans called in the Huns to their aid against them, and treacherously breaking the peace concluded with them in the following year, fell on them and overwhelmed them with that destruction which has assumed so fantastic and so tragic a form in the great national epic of the Niebelungen Noth. The Burgundians now withdrew to other quarters, and planted themselves on the Rhone, with Lyons and Vienne as chief cities. For Church history the Christian realm of the Burgundians on the Rhine is an episode of importance, only because it assured continuity to the churches established at Mainz and Worms till the middle of the 5th century.

We come now to the Franks, that race which has left its indelible stamp on history and in Europe. The name of the Franks first meets us, as already said, in the middle of the 3rd century. The Frank name implies Free-men; it was a proud title under which many German races combined. They comprised those Teutonic groups on the right bank of the Rhine, some of which had owed a sort of allegiance to Rome, as included in the vaguely-defined Germania Transrhenana. It was a loose allegiance, soon broken when the strength of Rome gave way. These Germans crossed the Rhine, at first in quest of booty, and then to occupy more fertile lands than the sandy and peaty flats of Hanover and Westphalia, and the rugged hills on the German side of the Rhine. The Romans fought with the fury of despair. They massacred all who fell into their hands; the

Franks treated their captives taken in war with humanity. Not so the Romans; they cast them to the wild beasts in the circus, or armed them to fight each other in the arena. The Franks took Batavia (Holland), then Toxandria (Zealand) and Brabant; in A.D. 355 Cologne fell into their hands; it was recovered from them, but they again took and occupied it half a century later. At the opening of the 5th century Andernach was the most northerly station held by the Romans on the Rhine. A line drawn thence through Tongern to Arras and Amiens shows the northern limit of the Empire. In 409 both Arras and Amiens fell into the hands of the Franks, then Cambrai. Although Trèves had been four times attacked by them, it still remained Roman till 475, when it also fell. Ten years later the youthful Chlodovech (Clovis) destroyed the last remnants of a dominion that had lasted in Gaul for five hundred years. In the battle of Soissons, A.D. 486, fell Syagrius, who, under the title of Patrician, had governed that portion of Gaul that still called itself Roman, the district north of the Loire; all south of that river was included in the realm of the Wisi-Goths and that of the Burgundians.

As already said, the Franks were divided into two main stocks, the Salic and the Ripuarian. It was the Salic that penetrated to the heart of Gaul and converted it into France; the Ripuarian Franks remained in the land between the Rhine, Moselle and Meuse. The Salic Franks came to the fore under Clovis; but the Ripuarian made themselves

felt later under the mayors of the palace, the great Arnulphing family. The first mythic king of the Salic Franks was Chlodio; the royal race took its name of Merovingian from his son Merowech. Chlodovech (Clovis), the grandson of Merowech, after having defeated and taken the realm north of the Loire, entered into treaty with the Armoricans between the Loire and Somme, and obtained their submission. Then he defeated the Alamanni who had invaded the territory of the Ripuarian Franks, and again defeated them in the decisive battle of Tolbiach (Zülpich), A.D. 496; then he extended his realm over all the land between the Rhine and the Vosges, that is, over Alsatia, as well as over the Alamanni who occupied the old Agri Decumetes, on the middle Neckar and Main basins, and that part of his territory thenceforth bore the name of Franconia. It was *not* an original seat of the Franks, it was peopled by the Alamanni; but the conquest of the Alamanni and the incorporation of their territory gave to it the designation of Franconia. Then Chlodovech crossed the Loire and fell upon the realm of the Wisi-Goths. By his victory over Alaric II. at Voullon, near Poictiers, A.D. 507, he extended his empire to the Pyrenees. By getting rid of the Salic kings of Amiens and Cambrai, and of the Ripuarian king Sigebert at Cologne, and his son, he united all their territories into one great Frank empire.

Under the four sons of Chlodovech (Theodorich of Rheims, d. 534; Chlodomer of Orleans, d. 524;

Childebert I. of Paris, d. 559; and Chlothar I. of Soissons), the realm was divided with regard to the originally independent districts of the Salic Franks, the Ripuarian Franks, Armorica, and the Gauls who had been under West Gothic sovereignty, so as to make the large towns of Paris, Orleans, Soissons and Metz the royal capitals of several races under Frank domination. In 533 the Burgundian kingdom was overcome, the Ostro-Goths gave up Provence to the Franks, and the whole of Gaul, with the exception of Septimania, was now Frank.

Moreover, their sovereignty extended over all German lands with the exception of Saxony and Frisia. As Chlothar I., who died in 561, survived his brothers and their successors, the kingdom was again united (559–561) under one sceptre; but another sub-division took place among his four sons (Charibert of Paris, d. 567; Guntram of Orleans, d. 593; Sigebert I. of Metz, d. 575, and Chilperich of Soissons, d. 584), and after the death of Charibert three realms were constituted—Austrasia or the East Franks, with the capital at Metz; Neustria or the new Franks, with Paris and Soissons as capitals; and Burgundy, with the capital at Orleans. Bloody internecine wars and domestic murders made the time of these kings one of utter brutality and horror. A third union of the parts of the realm took place A.D. 613, under Chlothar II. He and his son Dagobert I. (628–638) brought the Merovingian kingdom to the summit of its power, but only to suffer a rapid and complete eclipse.

It has been necessary, very summarily, to give the history of the Merovingian succession to Dagobert I. and the divisions of the realm, that the history of religion in this epoch may be followed with understanding, for it is mixed up, not a little, with the political changes.

III.

THE FRANKS AND CHRISTIANITY.

The Condition of the Gallo-Romans under the Franks—The Character of the Franks—Childerich's Treatment of the Church—The Marriage of Chlodovech—His Conversion—His Conduct after Baptism—The General Consequences of his Baptism—Law against Heathen Practices—The Reverence of the first Frank Kings for the Bishops—Lavish Bounty shown to the Church—Loyalty of the Bishops to the Kings—Causes which tended to enrich the Church—The Activity of the Church.

In the Isle of Batavia and in Toxandria the Franks met with no Christians, or very few; but it was otherwise when they captured Cologne. The first letter of Salvian shows us how they behaved towards the conquered city. They did not expel the Roman inhabitants, but they deprived them of most of their possessions. A widow, a kinswoman of Salvian, who had been in comfortable circumstances, was now forced to earn her bread by daily toil. Such of the inhabitants as could, escaped, but the majority remained. Gregory of Tours names a Severinus as Bishop of Cologne about this time, and probably he remained and gathered round him and consoled the Christians who suffered and continued to reside in the town. At Tongern, also, the episcopal see remained occupied without interruption. Gregory of Tours names Aravatius as the bishop at the time

when the Huns burst over the Netherlands. Before them the bishopric was swept down, and ceased to exist. In Tournai, Arras, and Cambrai all traces of Christianity disappeared before the Franks. But as they spread further, their dealings with the Romanised inhabitants became more forbearing. Trèves was treated with more consideration than Cologne. The bishops entered into communication with the Frankish chiefs: they were men to inspire respect, and the rude Germans had ever in them a reverence for what is noble and good. They neither maltreated the clergy nor destroyed the churches. The Franks not only revered the bishops, but they were influenced by Roman civilization, by the magnificent buildings, by the objects of art, by the general superiority in manner and knowledge and intelligence that they encountered in Romanised Gaul. They began to feel ashamed of their barbarism. Though a strong people, they had that innate modesty which is the accompaniment of true greatness. They acknowledged their own deficiencies, and were ready to learn at the feet of those they had conquered. The instance of the younger Arbogast is instructive; he was probably grandson of Count Arbogast. His father was a heathen chieftain in Trèves; but he himself submitted to become a Christian, and strove to acquire the Roman language and Roman culture. He entered into correspondence with Sidonius Apollinaris and Auspicius of Toul, who flattered him with praise at his success in acquiring the art of Latin composition.

A parallel to the relation of Arbogast to the Church is that assumed by King Childerich. He never became a Christian, but his behaviour to Christian bishops and saints was invariably respectful. He made donations of lands to the Church; he was courteous and even kind to S. Genoveva of Paris. He entered into confederacy with the Romans to fight the Arian Goths and the heathen Saxons. The Frank nobles did not embrace Christianity; they held aloof in pride, but they respected it. The little court at Tournai was wholly Frank; but when, under Chlodovech, the kingdom expanded vastly, and the population under his authority was made up of three-parts Romanised Gauls and one part heathen Franks —the latter barbarous, the former highly civilized—the question was no longer whether the Franks would become Christians, but when the conversion should take place. The conquering race turned its eyes on the sovereign and waited the signal he would give.

Whilst prosecuting his course of war and conquest in Belgica Prima, Chlodovech heard of the fame of Chrodechild,* niece of Gundebald, King of Burgundy. She was a Christian and a Catholic. He resolved to marry her. Her father, Chilperich, and her two brothers had been put to death by Gundebald, who had also caused her mother to be thrown into the Rhone with a stone round her neck and drowned. That Chlodovech had a political end in view in marrying Chrodechild is hardly to be doubted. He was a man with foresight, and he had set before him the

* In French, S. Clothilde.

scheme of uniting all Gaul under his sceptre. By his union with the niece of the murderer, he had ready at hand, whenever he chose to use it, an occasion of quarrel with Gundebald, and an excuse for falling upon and annexing Burgundy.

It was, moreover, to the interest of Chlodovech to stand well with the Church. It was not indeed possible for him to prevent the plunder of churches when cities were carried by storm, but he spared them as far as he might. An instance will suffice. At the taking of a certain city several costly vessels were carried away from the church. The bishop appealed to the king. His royal authority did not extend so far as to enable him to order its prompt restoration, but at the division of the plunder, which took place at Soissons, he asked for one of the costliest Church vessels to be given him as his share. At his demand, one surly Frank replied, "Thou shalt have naught but what falls to thee by lot, according to ancient custom," and he struck the vessel with his battle-axe. The king, however, received the chalice and restored it to the bishop, and took no notice of the affront. A year after, at a parade, he summoned all to show their arms. Having passed in review all other warriors, he came to him who had struck the vase. "None," said he, "hath brought his weapons so ill-kept," and wresting from him his axe, he cast it on the ground. The man stooped to pick it up, when the king smote him to the earth with his own battle-axe, cleaving his skull, with the taunt, "Thus didst thou to the chalice at Soissons."

Chlodovech suffered both his firstborn and his next son to be baptized. He was perhaps still uncertain whether to embrace Christianity himself, but he was willing that his sons should reign as Christian kings after him. The urgency and example of his wife, however, prevailed over his hesitation, and he announced to S. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, his readiness to be baptized. A striking incident is told to account for the conversion of the Frank king. It is said that in a desperate battle with the Alamanni, when fortune inclined against him, he made a vow to Christ to become His pupil should he win the day. The vow was heard, and the tide of battle turned. There may possibly be something in the story, but it is unnecessary. All the motives for determining Chlodovech's conversion were at hand. His wife certainly exercised extraordinary influence over him, and there was clear indication in which direction his policy pointed. His baptism was, indeed, dictated by policy, hardly by more than a rude conviction that the God of the Christians was the best God for the Franks.

It is not always the case that a contemporary has the faculty of seeing and rightly measuring the importance of the events that take place in his time. But S. Avitus of Vienne was gifted with this exceptional faculty. He sent a letter of congratulation to the Frank king on his baptism, which is remarkable for the penetration with which the bishop saw into the future, and saw what would follow on this conversion. That it would lead to the triumph of Christianity over

heathenism among the Franks, of Catholicism over Arian heresy, was indeed obvious; but almost with the foresight of a prophet did Avitus declare that now the Frank king stood opposed to the Greek Emperor, face to face, as ruler of the West, that he was the inheritor of the great legacy of the Western Empire of Rome. Nor was that all; he saw in Chlodovech's baptism the earnest of the evangelization of Germany, and the union of all the Germanic races under one sceptre. At every point has history fulfilled the prophecy of the Bishop of Vienne.

The baptism of Chlodovech was followed by the wholesale conversion of the Franks. No compulsion was used to bring the heathen into the Church. As a heathen, Chlodovech had treated the Church with forbearance; he was equally tolerant to heathenism when he was a Christian. But his example worked, and thousands of noble Franks crowded to the water of regeneration. Gregory of Tours reckons the Franks as Christians after the baptism of their king, which took place at Christmas, A.D. 496.

His conversion made no alteration in the policy and conduct of Chlodovech; he remained the same mixture of cunning and audacity, of cruelty and sensuality, that he was before. His new religion restrained him from no crimes; he stirred up the son of a kinsman and confederate, Sigebert of Cologne, to murder his father, in order that he might himself be the better able to destroy the parricidal son. Though a Christian, he bought with false coin the treachery of the servants of Ragnachar of Cambrai

against their legitimate lord and master, and though a Christian he slew his own kinsmen, Ragnachar and Richar, with his own hand.

But, though his baptism was to him of no moral import, its consequences were wide spreading. When Gregory of Tours compares the conversion of Chlodovech with that of Constantine the Great, he was fully in the right. Constantine's conversion proclaimed the end of a long and desperate conflict between the Roman State and Christianity, and the initiation of a new era in the development of mankind under the influences of the new ideas introduced by the Gospel. And the baptism of Chlodovech declared to the world that the new blood being poured into the veins of the old and expiring civilization, had been quickened by the same elements, and would unite with the old in the new development. Not so only. The Church to which Constantine extended protection was a Church within the confines of the Empire. The conversion of Chlodovech proclaimed that it had burst through those confines and had gone forth to conquer entire humanity. There was something present in Christianity acknowledged by the Frank king, a force he felt and submitted to, the import of which he was far from conceiving. He saw the strength of the Church, but that the Church would be an *imperium in imperio*, a force independent of the State, one that might obstruct it in its course, was what Chlodovech did not, indeed could not, conjecture.

That many of those who were baptized carried with them into their new Christianity their old heathen

superstitions as well as their barbarism is certain; and the times were not those in which the growth of the great Christian graces was encouraged; the germs, however, of a new life were laid.

About sixty years after the baptism of Chlodovech, his son Childebert I., who reigned in Paris, issued an order, in which, after proclaiming his belief that the general conversion of his people to Christianity was essential to their welfare, he declared that, as the unaided efforts of his bishops seemed unequal to the task, it became necessary for him to use his authority as king to further the good cause. He therefore threatened with his anger and with chastisement all such owners of land as suffered idols to remain on their ground, and he forbade the performance of all heathen rites of any kind. This constitution was the first attempt to interfere with liberty of conscience; it shows, not only that the royal power had gained since the time of Chlodovech, but also that Christianity was regarded as the true and lawful religion of the realm. Unquestionably Childebert issued this constitution with the sanction of the bishops, with whom he associated often and intimately. When Childebert died in 558, the entire realm was united under the sceptre of his brother Chlothachar I. This prince stood to the Church in a very different relation to that occupied by Childebert, and he looked with jealousy and suspicion on the power and wealth acquired by the bishops. The bishoprics founded in the time of the Roman Empire continued to exist. Trèves, and probably also Cologne, were metropolitan sees; a see

was founded at Maestricht, in place of that which had been destroyed at Tongern. No new see was, however, planted on the right bank of the Rhine, for indeed heathenism reigned there undisturbed till the close of the 6th century.

The respect, the admiration which the sons of Chlodovech and their successors felt for the Church, made them lavish many favours on it. Childebert gave to it extensive domains, the spoil of war, and large gifts in money. Even Chlothachar, in spite of his jealousy, followed the conduct of the others, and made grants to churches. Theudebert I. was lavish in his bounty ; his sister Theudechild built numerous churches at her own cost. The wealth of the Church grew so great that Chilperich, the grandson of Chlodovech, complained that the treasury was impoverished, as all riches flowed into the Church. This was an exaggeration, but it was nevertheless true that not kings only, but nobles gave estates and money to enrich benefices. Gregory of Tours tells us of a Duke Chrodinus who in generosity could hardly be surpassed ; after he had cultivated barren wastes, planted vineyards, and built houses, he made over whole manors thus enriched to such bishops as had sees poorly endowed.

This was the conduct of one man. What he did largely, others did in a smaller degree. Many gave estates in their lifetime others bequeathed them in their wills. Men of large properties who died without heirs, made over all their possessions to the Church ; they made Christ, as they said, their heir. Whereas

kings and nobles wastefully gave away their lands, the bishops took the utmost pains to safeguard the estates thus acquired; they collected and treasured the deeds of grant, they cultivated and encouraged the development of their estates, they even went so far as to become manufacturers on their lands. At Strassburg a number of tiles have been found stamped, "These I, Arbogastes, Bishop, made." This is S. Arbogast, whose date is 630. The exuberant liberality of the newly converted Franks testifies at all events to one thing—the great and continued veneration in which the bishops were held. They must have been men of high culture and saintly lives, or there would not have been this enthusiasm in lavishing gifts upon them. These bishops readily accepted the grants made them, for, in the first place, the serfs living on the lands thus acquired were certain of protection against violence, and in the next place they believed that, with such means at command, they would be better able to erect stately churches and to advance the Kingdom of God. If they were mistaken, it was not their fault; they could not foresee what in a few years would be the dire consequences of this enrichment.

The kings of the Franks acknowledged the moral authority of the great and good men who occupied the episcopal thrones; they never wearied of showing them honour; they delighted in bringing themselves into spiritual relationships with them, by making them godfathers to their children. They retained them in their courts, consulted them, and entrusted them with political missions. The bishops were given a sort

of supervision over the administration of justice, and in the courts of justice occupied the place of supreme honour. Nothing that the bishops in the early Frank kingdom did was likely to arouse suspicion in the minds of the kings that the power they were encouraging might become dangerous to the Crown. The bishops never forgot that they were subjects. The behaviour of S. Remigius towards Chlodovech is an instance. The most loyal subject could not have behaved with greater obedience at the call of his sovereign than did this powerful and independent-minded prelate. When the king asked him to give a bishopric to a man he recommended, Remigius at once complied. When the wish of Chlodovech and an ecclesiastical prescription clashed, he obeyed the former. His conduct called down on him the rebuke of Bishops Leo of Sens, Heraclius of Paris, and Theodosius of Auxerre ; but he was not alone in his dutiful obedience to the Crown. Most bishops followed his example. The king and the bishops stood to each other as two powers, each of which saw its own importance, but each equally recognised that of the other.

The ecclesiastical estates paid taxes to the State ; the retainers of the Church were bound to bear arms as well as those of secular nobles.

As we have already said, throughout the epoch when the Franks came over to Christianity, the donations of lands to the Church were very great. These territories became better tilled, more populous and prosperous than others. They were less subject to suffer through the devastations of war. The tenants

were not overburdened with charges. Numbers of freed men came on to Church land and settled there; moreover numbers of free landholders, to obtain the protection that they saw was accorded to Church property, made over voluntarily their estates to the Church, doing homage, or doing some feudal service for them in exchange for that protection.

How active, how zealous, the prelates were in that period we may judge from the fact that we know of thirty synods held in the Frank realm, between the first synod of Orleans in the year of the death of Chlodovech, A.D. 511, and the synod of Paris in 614.

IV.

THE FALL OF THE FRANK CHURCH.

Royal Interference in the Affairs of the Church—The Kings appoint Bishops—The Bishops protest—But in vain—The Importance and Wealth of the Sees made them to be coveted by the Nobles—The Conversion of the Alamanni—S. Columbanus and S. Gall—The Bavarians—First Missionaries among them—The Thuringians—Clergy under no Episcopal Supervision—The Irish Missions—Founding of Luxeuil—Influence of Luxeuil in the East—S. Kilian of Würzburg—The Irish Missionaries failed to effect much—Their Lack of Organising Power—Social Transformation in the Frank Monarchy—Rise of the great Feudal Lords—Degradation of the Freemen—After the Death of Dagobert I., the great Vassals strive for Supreme Power—The Bishoprics and Abbeys given to Partisans—Pippin of Heristal—Charles Martell—Degradation and Demoralisation of the Church complete.

THE seeds of evil were present from the very first. The bishops saw them and desired to cast them forth; but their efforts were unavailing. Unintentionally, without for an instant suspecting it, they took a course certain to foster their growth, to the almost certain ruin of the Church.

The evil was this—the interference of the Frank kings in Church matters. Chrodechild—the saintly Clothilde as she is usually called—saw nothing outrageous in nominating two bishops banished from

Burgundy to be simultaneously Bishops of Tours. This was an unheard-of innovation, an affront to the ecclesiastical view of the relations in which a bishop stood to his see. The sons of Chlodovech paid quite as little regard to ecclesiastical right. Theuderich I. gave away bishoprics to whom he would. His brothers did likewise. It was believed that in many cases the nomination was bought of the kings with heavy coin. In vain did the Council of Orleans in 535 condemn simony. Simony flourished under lawless kings. They appointed laymen to the churches. This the third Council of Orleans, in 538, also condemned, but it was powerless to enforce its condemnation. Synod after synod protested that the right of nomination to a vacant see was in the hands of the widowed diocese. The kings disregarded the canons of these councils, and sent their own creatures to occupy the empty thrones, regardless of the rights of the see. Finally, in 549, the fifth Council of Orleans sought to effect a compromise. It upheld the right of free election, but gave the right of confirmation of an election to the king. The 8th canon of the Council of Paris was a bold assertion of the rights of the Church (A.D. 557). It forbade the reception in a see of any bishop who was not elected by the clergy and people conjointly ; it forbade his enthronisation at the order of the sovereign ; it required not merely the election by the diocese, but the confirmation by the metropolitan and the comprovincials. It enjoined that if any bishops were appointed by the king alone, the comprovincial

bishops were not to receive him, under pain of excommunication. But Chlothachar I. was not the man to regard with respect the canons of a synod. Since 555 he ruled in the kingdom of Theudebald as well as in his own, and on the death of Childebert was sole sovereign over the whole Frank kingdom. As long as he lived the decrees of Orleans and Paris remained dead letters. But matters altered under his sons. Guntchram of Orleans (d. 592) boasted that he had never sold a bishopric, nor given one to a layman, and the canon of Orleans, 549, was fairly observed during his reign both in his realm and in that of Soissons, which he governed during the minority of his nephew. His elder brother, Sigebert, was, in his fashion, pious, yet he nominated to bishoprics without regard to the rights of election possessed by the diocese, and he at his own caprice divided Châteaudun from the diocese of Chartres, and erected it into a separate see. The bishop, Pappolus, and the 4th Council of Paris, remonstrated; but their remonstrances were disregarded. In 576 Sigebert was murdered, his son Childebert II. was but a boy of six, and the power fell into the hands of his widow, Brunichild. Then it became the rule to sell the bishopric to the highest bidder, and to nominate laymen to the episcopal thrones. Chilperich of Soissons was a man of some talent and scholarship; he appointed to every see that fell vacant, and usually appointed a layman. To prevent the protest of councils, he did not suffer them to meet; in 584 Chilperich was murdered, and his successor, Chlotha-

char II. was not a year old. Guntchram acted as regent. Childebert II. died in 595, after having united three years previously his uncle's realm with his own of Austrasia. His two sons Theudebert and Theuderich, children of ten and eight, divided the realm between them under the regency of Brunichild. Then ensued disturbances; in 599 Brunichild was flying. One day, when on foot and in rags, she encountered a beggar as squalid as herself. She asked him to accompany her to her nephew Theuderich. He did so. Theuderich received his aunt, and Brunichild rewarded the beggar for his services by giving him a bishopric.

It has been said that the bishops of the Frank kingdom saw the evil and strove to remedy it; but did so in the wrong way. They fought against it in council, but it did not occur to them to cut away the occasion for the royal interference by making the sees not worth having. The bishoprics had become so important through their territorial possessions, and the number of retainers living on them, that the nobles, the favourites about the court, had their greed excited, asked for, and obtained these ecclesiastical principalities. They asked for them because they desired wealth and power, and were supremely indifferent to the sacred obligations that the tenure of a diocese imposed on them. By degrees, the Church came to be filled with prelates living disorderly lives, reckless of their spiritual obligations, loving war, and ambitious of extending their power.

Nevertheless, the Frank Church possessed men of

apostolic virtue and devotion to the cause of Christ. Such were Arnulf of Metz (d. 640); Eligius of Noyon (d. 658); Audœnus of Rouen (d. 683); Amandus of Maestricht (d. circ. 661); Sulpicius of Bourges (d. 644); Desiderius of Cahors (d. 660); Wolfram of Sens (d. 695); and many others.

We must now see what was going on beyond the Rhine, where the heathen Alamanni had swept over ancient churches, which were left, if not dead, yet with only a flicker of life in them. Agathias, the Byzantine historian who wrote about A.D. 575, described the Alamanni as heathens worshipping trees and offering horses in sacrifice to their gods. At the beginning of the 7th century paganism was general in Austrasia. S. Columbanus, an Irish abbot, was driven from the monastery of Luxeuil by the ferocious Brunichild; he came to Theudebert II. at Metz in A.D. 610, desiring leave to cross his territories on his way into Italy. Theudebert dissuaded him from his purpose, told him that the Alamanni were heathens, and urged him to attempt their conversion. After sixty years of labour devoted to a struggle against lawless kings and nations already Christian, he began the second phase of his life—that of preaching to the Pagans. He embarked on the Rhine, and ascending the river and its tributary as far as the Lake of Zürich, halted a while at Tuggen, then went to Arbon on the Lake of Constance, and finally established himself at the head of that lake at Bregenz, amid the ruins of an ancient Roman town. His principal assistant was another Irishman, named Gall, who was not less

daring than himself. In announcing the Gospel to the heathen, Columbanus exhibited all that impetuosity of temper which belonged to his nationality, and which age had not altered. He broke the boilers in which the pagans prepared beer to offer to Woden, he burned their temples, and threw their gilded idols into the lake. Such proceedings naturally excited against him the fury of the natives, and he was compelled to fly. Then he heard (A.D. 612) of the defeat and death of King Theudebert, and he resolved to abandon his mission and end his days in peace in Italy. Not so his companion Gall, who remained on, founded a settlement where now stands the monastery that bears his name; he became the apostle of the Alamanni round about, and the spiritual father of other men of missionary spirit who carried on the work he had begun.

Two other labourers in the same field deserve mention, Fridolin, the founder of the monastery of Säckingen on the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Basle, and Trudpert, who carried the lamp of the Gospel into the valleys of the Black Forest.

Somewhat later, under Charles Martell, Perminus, a stranger in episcopal orders, founded, A.D. 724, the Abbey of Reichenau on an island in the Rhine below Constance, and then retired into the Vosges. Little is known of him, but one work that he wrote has been preserved, in atrocious Latin, but of curious interest as giving us a picture of the superstitious rites against which the clergy had to struggle among the Alamanni who were already Christians in name.

The Bavarians were the old Marcomanni, who had left their seats in Bohemia, and had occupied the high tableland at the foot of the Alps. They were already in part Christians—Arians, when they took up their new positions. A Catholic family, probably Frank, the Agilulfings, obtained the Dukedom of Bavaria. Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, who worked so zealously and so well at the conversion of her husband's people to the Church, was a daughter of this house.

On the death of Dagobert (A.D. 638), the tie that bound Bavaria to the Frank realm was relaxed, and the Agilulfings asserted their independence. The first Duke of Bavaria who can be fixed historically was Garibald, in the second half of the 6th century. He was married to Wildehad, widow of the Frank King Theudebald, and their daughter was Theodelinda (Theudelinde).

The first missionaries from the West who worked among the Bavarians were Eustasius, abbot of Luxeuil (d. 625), and Agilus from Bobbio (d. 635), both pupils of S. Columbanus. They were commissioned at the Diet of Bonnelles (615–616), by Clothachar II. and the there assembled bishops, to 'go among "the Boji, now called Bavocarii," and "announce Christ to those still heathen," and direct unto the truth those lost in error, *i.e.*, in Arianism. S. Amandus also, afterwards (649), Bishop of Maestricht, banished by Dagobert in 630, preached among the Bavarians as he passed through on his way to the Sclaves. In the middle of the 7th century S. Emmeran,

a regionary bishop from Poictiers, came in 649 to Ratisbon, and was detained by Duke Theodo I., who entreated him to stay in the land, and work for the enlightenment of his people. He, however, remained there only three years, and can have effected but little. Rupert, related to the Merovingian royal house, was Bishop of Worms, and was invited into Bavaria by Duke Theodo; he worked long there as a missionary. He baptized the duke and many of the nobles, and founded a bishop's see at Salzburg, Juvavium, where lingered on a Christian Romance speaking people. There also he built the church of S. Peter, and founded a nunnery, which he placed under the guidance of his niece Ehrentrud. He consecrated Vitalis to be his successor. The exact period of the labours of S. Rupert is undecided; some authorities have placed it as early as between 580 and 620, but it was almost certainly as late as 696–715.

Lorch alone remained as the seat of a bishop from former times. The see was removed about 731 to Passau, owing to the inroads of the Sclavic Avars on the Danube, below Linz. In 716 the old Duke Theodo went to Rome, full of longing to see the holy sites, but also to obtain some advantage for his people. At his petition Gregory II. sent three legates into Bavaria, Bishop Martinian, a priest, and a subdeacon, with instruction to regulate church matters there; but as the duke died in the following year, nothing was done, and the legates probably returned, finding Theodo's son Grimoald opposed to their designs.

The condition of the Church in Bavaria at the

beginning of the 8th century was in as great confusion as at the beginning of the 7th century. There were no fixed episcopal thrones, with their dioceses determined ; those bishops who are named were strangers who had been ordained elsewhere, and were without jurisdiction. They lived as abbots with those who associated themselves to them as monks. Priests there were in the land, some Arian, some Catholic ; it was doubtful where, when, and by whom they had been ordained. They were without theological teaching, hardly understood the Latin tongue, except when they were taken from among the old Roman population, and in the sacred functions employed the vernacular. If ecclesiastical reform was needed anywhere, it was in Bavaria.

We will now turn our eyes to Thuringia.

The Thuringian kingdom came to an end in the battle on the Unstrut (530), when Theuderich I. and Chlothachar I. defeated Hermenefrid. Theuderich united Thuringia to his kingdom, and it remained a portion of the Austrasian kingdom in the time of Dagobert. The dukes appointed by the Frank kings were not always Christians. No efforts seem to have been made by the Frank Church for the conversion of the Thuringians. The confusion, the struggle, that went on at home held the bishops from missionary enterprise. But the Franks who settled in Thuringia, especially along the Main, were Christians. Duke Radulf in the time of Dagobert became a Christian. The work done among the Thuringians was done by an Irish missionary, Kilian, at Würz-

burg; he and two companions suffered martyrdom there (688).

The picture we obtain of the ecclesiastical condition of Thuringia at the beginning of the 8th century is as cheerless as elsewhere in Germany; the clergy were under no control, ignorant and licentious. Priests baptized without asking for the Creed to be recited; some were ready at will to perform a Christian function or offer a heathen sacrifice. Baptism was regarded merely as a charm, and was administered even by heathens. The common people mingled a little Christian knowledge with much heathenish superstition, and had no idea whatever of the requirements of the Gospel as to the conduct of their lives. Here and there, unquestionably, there were devout and earnest priests; but the Church was entirely without organization, the clergy absolutely without supervision.

A word must now be said relative to the Irish missions.

Ireland, in which no pro-consul ever set foot, was the only place in the world where the Gospel conquered without resistance and effusion of blood. The first enthusiasm of faith, which elsewhere swept the believers to martyrdom, in Ireland drove the neophites into monasteries, and S. Patrick rejoiced to see the sons and daughters of the chiefs adopt the eremitical life in such numbers that he could not count them. The West had never seen anything like those great foundations, true monastic capitals, of Banchor, Clonfert, and Clonard, in each of which were assembled

2725

over three thousand monks. But the enthusiasm of the Irish Christians could not be quenched in the retreats of these monastic institutions. They were seized with a passion for missionary work. In dreams and ecstasies they saw the heathen Germans calling to them to come over and help them, and the sea open to make a way for them in answer to this call. They left Ireland in shoals; they carried the light of the Gospel into Scotland, to Northumbria to Neustria, to Flanders. When, later, the Norsemen landed in Iceland, they found Irish hermits there, gone there to find men to convert, before the island had got inhabitants. These missionaries penetrated the forests of Germany, climbed the Alps, entered Italy and Spain. Christianity in Ireland was wholly monastic. In every abbey were many bishops, and the abbot ruled the community as abbot, and the diocese as bishop. Jurisdiction was in abbatial not episcopal hands, and the bishops were confined to the function of conferring orders.

In 590, S. Columbanus, who issued from Banchor, appeared at the Court of Guntchram, attended by twelve disciples, and asked leave to settle in his land. The king gave his consent, and Columbanus founded the three monasteries of Anegrai, Luxeuil and Fontaine among the Vosges, on the ruins of old Roman settlements, devastated by the incursions of the Alamanni. Driven from Luxeuil by Brunichild, he went into Austrasia and preached at the head of the Lake of Constance, as we have already seen. But Luxeuil remained; and thence in the 7th century

issued the reformers of the Austrasian clergy, Ragnachar of Basle, Cagnoald of Laon, Achar of Noyon, Audomar (Omer) of Thérouanne; then the Frank Romaric, who built Remiremont; Theudefrid, first abbot of Corbie; the Irishman Dichuill, honoured under the name of S. Dié; the Aquitanian Remacle, who, after having ruled Solignac, founded Staveloo and Malmedi. Two Irish priests, Cadoc and Fricor, converted a Frank noble named Riquier (Reichar); he freed all his slaves, and founded the abbey of Centule. At the same time the Irish monk Roding established himself at Beaulieu. Sidonius took up his quarters at Calais; the monks Ultan and Foilan planted a monastic colony at Fosses; S. Fursey, their brother, penetrated Neustria, and founded Lagny; Livinus worked and died at Ghent; Fridolinus, another Irishman, was found at Säckingen; Fintan, another, ended his life at Reichenau; S. Gall we have seen in Switzerland; S. Kilian, with his disciples Colman and Totnan, founded a church at Aschaffenburg, on a rock of red sandstone, above the Main, then denounced the local chief's marriage with his deceased wife's sister, and met with his death in consequence at Würzburg; the hermit Alto laboured in Bavaria, and over his cell rose the monastery of Altmünster; Dobda, surnamed the Greek, from his knowledge of the Greek language, also an Irishman; Corbinian, who founded Freisingen, and Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, a Franco-Gallic monk—all worked in Bavaria, inspired by the teaching of the Irish monastic centre of Luxeuil, and obeying the rule laid down by S. Columbanus.

But for the labours of these Irish and their disciples, the light of true religion would have died out throughout the Frank realm; the laicising of the episcopate by the kings had utterly debased it, and nothing whatever was done by the Frank Church for the conversion of the heathen. But the work of the Irish missionaries did not have that enduring effect which might have been expected. They exhibited the utmost devotion, but their work was marred by the characteristic Celtic incapability for organization. Their work was sporadic and personal. The men toiled in their several spheres without keeping in touch with each other. They founded Christian communities, but not provincial Churches. They laboured, and it was left for others to enter on their labours and systematise where they had diffused some knowledge of the truth.

In the meantime a vast social transformation was being effected in the Frank Empire.

When Chlodovech extended the petty kingdom of Tournai into a great Frank realm, he ruled over a people of freemen. The organization of all the Germanic peoples, as revealed to us in their ancient codes, was much the same. There were the freemen, who bore arms, held land, allodial possessions, and were all equal in the eye of the law. Then came the lazzi (villains), men who had forfeited their position as freemen, by failing in the fulfilment of their obligations to the state, or were the issue of a freeman and serf.

The third class were the serfs, originally the vanquished race, and it was unlawful for a freeborn

German to unite in marriage with such; if he did so, his family lost the position of the father and took that of the unfree.

But under the Frank kings a great change took place. The kings took to their courts a number of favourites, and appointed them to offices that gave them power, and occasion for personal enrichment. The kings who had taken certain districts, in the distribution of the conquered land, as royal domains, handed these over in fee to their vassals, to rule under them. In the reign of Chlothachar II. the transformation of the social condition of the people had already taken place. On the one side a number of families, favoured by the kings, had risen to princely power and wealth, possessing vast territories and thousands of serfs; on the other side the freeborn had greatly declined in numbers in consequence. Unable to protect themselves in the furious internecine struggles of the time, they had voluntarily given up their land to the nearest royal vassal or bishop, and had received it back in fee, and thus had fallen from their position of freemen into that of feudal servants under a lord. They became, in fact, much what the lazzi, the villains of the earlier age, had been. From forming the first order in the commonwealth, they had declined to become commoners. When Dagobert I. died in 639, he left two sons, one nine, the other six, and the epoch of feeble Merowings began—of long-haired, effeminate, powerless monarchs, incapable of exercising rule, and of holding in constraint the great vassals who fought against each other in

jealousy of power and dominion. The kings after Dagobert no longer found themselves face to face with the people, but with the great nobles.

By degrees the Church had become the greatest possessor of land in the realm of the Franks. The kings had given the bishoprics to whom they would, men unscrupulous and thirsty for power. The masters of the palace now rose. In Neustria appeared Ebroin; over against him stood Leodegar, Bishop of Autun, each ambitious. The struggle between them was not about religion, about Church matters, but for sovereign power. The majordomus gained the mastery, and the bishop was put to death. He drove Bishop Landebert from Maestricht, and his successor, Faramund, was expelled by Pippin. Chramlier, Bishop of Embrun, had got his see by a forged deed, and had never received episcopal consecration. Agilbert of Paris, and Reolus of Rheims, who were of the party of Ebroin, deceived the Austrasian Duke Martin by taking oath over an empty shrine, and then declaring themselves not bound by their oath, because the relics had been previously withdrawn by them.

The bishops, worldly and selfish, put forth their hands to enlarge their domains. Madelgar of Laon tried to get hold of the convent founded by Salaberga, and was only prevented taking it by the interference of Pippin. Disorders broke out in the monasteries. The monks of Rebais revolted against their abbot and drove him away. The abbot Berchar was murdered by his monks because he rebuked them.

Synods were no longer held; or, when held, were

occupied, not with the reform of the clergy, but with devising means for securing landed estates to the Church against all eventualities. Only four councils were held between the death of Dagobert and 742—a period of nearly a century. Bishoprics were given by the kings and the mayors of the palace to young men not thirty years old. They were bought openly. Bishops regarded their dioceses as their private estates, and bequeathed them away. Two bishops occupied at the same time the same throne, and two abbots the same abbey. The clergy in the churches in country places were under no control, for the bishops made no visitations. Patrons of livings kept them vacant for many years, that they might draw the revenues into their own hands, and then sold them to the highest bidder. Bishops and abbots not only neglected their duties, but deserted their palaces and abbeys to live as laymen, and, donning helmet and breastplate, to go to war, or else spend their time in hunting and revelry.

Pippin of Heristal was a man of religious feeling. He was the grandson of a man of saintly life, S. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz. He was ready to encourage S. Willibrord in the conversion of the Frisians ; but otherwise he let Church matters take their course. He gave the command of an army to a military-minded bishop ; and he took care that the most important bishoprics should be kept in his own family. He allowed an uncle and nephew simultaneously to occupy the episcopal throne of Trèves, Count Agatheus of Nantes and Rennes to lay hold of the two

bishoprics in these cities, and Linturis to retain as his own Trèves, Rheims, and Laon.

Matters were no better under his son, Charles Martell. He drove bishops from their sees if they displeased him, or threw them into prison. He gave away abbeys and sees to his favourites; he elevated his nephew Hugo, son of his stepbrother Drogo, to the archbishopric of Rouen, which Drogo had occupied under Pippin; and he was given in addition the bishoprics of Paris and Bayeux, and the Abbey of S. Wandrille. Rouen was next given to Grimo, who could not read; and after him to Ragnfried, a godson of Pippin, also unable to read, and he received also the abbacy of S. Wandrille. Linturis, who with his nephew Basin had held the see of Trèves, was succeeded in it by his son Milo. It is doubtful whether he ever received episcopal orders. He was killed in a boar-hunt. Gerald of Mainz accompanied Charles on his wars against the Saxons, and fell in battle at the head of his retainers. Charles gave the see to his son Gewiliep, of whom we shall hear more presently. He was a passionate lover of the chase.

The position of Charles Martell was a difficult one. The Crown domains had already been given away; he was constrained, in order to retain adherents, to bribe them with what alone he could grasp—Church property. But the inevitable result was the utter and radical demoralisation of the entire Frank Church. Nearly every bishopric was in the hands of a layman, or of a clerk, who valued it only for what he could get out of it. The corruption went through every grade.

There were deacons who kept from four to five, and even more, concubines ; and that did not prevent their ordination as priests, and their consecration as bishops. A general complaint against the clergy was that they loved to hunt, to drink, and to fight better than to minister at the altar, and to teach the people. Whence was reform to come? Not from the Celtic missionaries. They could but use personal influence, acting in independence of each other, at wide intervals. The necessary reformation was to come from men of another race, with the faculty of organization in them.

V.

THE WORK OF S. BONIFACE.

Early life of Boniface—He sails for Frisia—Returns to England—Goes to Rome—Is sent into Thuringia—The Scheme of Gregory II.—Makes a second attempt in Frisia—His missionary success in Hesse—He revisits Rome—Consecrated bishop—With metropolitan powers—Charles Martell suffers him to proceed—Resumes work in Hesse—Fells the oak of Geislar—Appeals to England for helpers—Response—Monks and nuns come to his assistance—First visit to Bavaria, and failure—Gregory III.—Boniface revisits Rome—Again goes to Bavaria, and reorganises the Church there—Founds bishoprics and abbeys—Founds bishoprics in Thuringia and Hesse—Death of Charles Martell—Carlmann invites Boniface to reform the Frank Church—Calls synods—Odilo of Bavaria revolts, and is defeated—Eichstädt founded—Gewiliep of Mainz deposed—Mainz created the Metropolitan See—Carlmann resigns—Boniface's letters to Fuldrad—Resolves to make another attempt in Frisia—His death—The services he rendered to the German Church.

WHILST the Frank Church fell, the Anglo-Saxon rose; whilst the light of the Gospel suffered eclipse in the former, in the latter it poured forth its rays with redoubled lustre.

Wynfrith, afterwards called Boniface, was the son of Saxon parents, of noble birth, in the extreme west of the kingdom of Wessex. Crediton has been

supposed to have been the place where he first saw the light, but there is no evidence that this was so. He began his monastic studies in Exeter. Here, side by side, lay the British and the Saxon cities, each with its churches—the former dedicated to Celtic saints, the other with more general dedications. The conquering Saxon and the subjugated Briton were brought into daily contact; and probably the ecclesiastical peculiarities of the Celtic Church kindled the wrath, or at least awoke the aversion, of the Roman-minded Saxon ecclesiastic. Wynfrith was proud of his race. He regarded himself as of one flesh and bone with the Saxons on the continent. From Exeter he went to Nutschelle, a Benedictine Abbey, under Abbot Wynbrecht. He may have heard, he almost certainly must have heard, of the mission work that was being done in Friesland by S. Willibrord. No stories were listened to at this time in the Anglo-Saxon monasteries with greater avidity than those connected with the adventures of Willibrord, and other brave pioneers of the Gospel in Frisia. Boniface persuaded three companions to accompany him. He received the sanction of his abbot, and of Archbishop Berchtwald. He took ship, and, crossing the sea, landed at Doerstadt—then a flourishing emporium, now almost obliterated from historical memory. But the time of his coming was unpropitious (A.D. 716). Radbod, the Frisian king, was engaged in furious conflict with Charles Martell, and Willibrord had to desert the field of his labours for the time. Boniface recognised the im-

possibility of his doing anything then and there, and returned to Nutschelle.

In 718 Boniface again left England, this time not to return to Friesland—where Charles was engaged in driving Radbod into submission before he proceeded against the Saxons—but to go to Rome, to confer with Pope Gregory II., and perhaps to await the turn of affairs in Friesland. He remained in Rome till the spring of 719, and then Gregory gave him commission to go and preach to the heathen, but Gregory sent him, not to Friesland, but into Thuringia. Willibrord had returned to his work among the Frisians, now humbled by Charles. Three years before, Gregory had sent a legate into Bavaria, there to organize the Church, and bring it into closer relations with the Holy See. Boniface was to do for him the same work in Thuringia, and forge the link between Bavaria and Frisia. This was not what Boniface desired, but he did as he was bidden. Throughout his life he carried with him the conviction that he had been called to work the evangelization of the Frisians, and he perished finally in pursuance of this mistaken idea ; he never saw that his true calling was to exercise his natural capacity for organization, in bringing the disorderly elements of Christianity in Middle Germany into discipline, and under spiritual control. But he was obedient ; he went into Thuringia, and found that there was no longer a duke there. He turned to the clergy and to the people, and energetically began his reforms. He encountered much opposition, partly from the Celtic priests, partly

from those leading dissolute lives. But his energy, his firmness, his transparent sincerity, his radiant goodness, cast a spell over the people, and they followed him with enthusiasm. Boniface soon felt that he could effect nothing lasting unless he came to an understanding with Charles Martell. He therefore undertook a journey to the court ; but on his way he heard the tidings of the death of the barbarian Radbod, and at once the fire of missionary ardour made him forget the task imposed on him by the Pope, to follow that inner conviction which impelled him to go to the Frisians. He went to Utrecht, met Willibrord, and worked awhile with him. Nevertheless, he would not stay. Perhaps he saw that he was not then so much needed in Friesland as elsewhere and he turned and entered among the Hessians. They were heathens, though here and there he may have found some Christians among them. They were a people then wrung with sufferings, owing to their proximity to the Saxons who invaded and harried their land. Very soon his work told. He was able to write home of the numerous conversions that ensued on his preaching ; even wealthy chiefs, he names Dettic and Deorulf of Amœneburg, were his humble disciples, desirous of giving up their land that he might found a monastery or a church upon it. It was a basaltic rock, suitable for protection against a Saxon onslaught, and on it Boniface founded his first monastery. He destined it to be the nursery of the clergy for the Church in Hesse. But though he was gaining fresh fields to the Church, he could not forget

that his commission, given him by Gregory II., was to the Thuringians. He sent a messenger to Rome to inform the Pope of what had been done. The answer was a summons to appear in person before Gregory. Gregory saw, what Boniface did not, the importance of the step taken, and he knew that he had in Boniface the right man to accomplish a work he had at heart—the reconstruction of the German Church.

Boniface did not go the direct route to Rome ; he went first into France, to see Charles Martell, and ask his help. Then he went on to Rome. There, on November 30th, 722, Gregory consecrated him bishop ; he was to abandon his missionary enterprise, and to become an ecclesiastical organiser. Gregory had taken a bold step, likely to bring him into conflict with Charles Martell ; he had ordained a bishop, without consulting him, to take a position of authority in the dominions of the Frank prince, and to bring discipline to bear, not only on the Celtic missionaries about whom Charles was indifferent, but also on the Frank bishops who were his creatures.

Thus elevated to the episcopal dignity, with letters of commendation to Charles Martell, to the bishops of Bavaria and Germany, and to the native chiefs of the countries where he was about to labour, Boniface recrossed the Alps, and visited Charles, that he might ask his permisson to work in Hesse. He dare not exercise the extensive powers entrusted to him without having first sounded the mind of Charles. Gregory had acted in a manner un-

precedented, had assumed a right which had not been exercised previously.

But Charles does not seem to have resented the step taken, probably he did not measure its importance. There were no wealthy churches in that region where Boniface was to work, and Charles was indifferent so long as he did not conceive that an impediment was put in the way of his political course. In the spring of 723 Boniface arrived at the Court of Charles in Valenciennes, and Charles accorded him a letter of safe conduct, in which, however, he passed over unnoticed the papal claim, and authorised Boniface to proceed by his royal authority alone.

Boniface at once returned to Hesse, where he confirmed the converts he had previously baptized; and then he proceeded to hew down the sacred oak of Geislar, which was venerated by the heathen of all the country round. The tree was felled in solemn manner. The pagans assembled in multitudes to behold this trial of strength between their ancient gods and the God of the stranger. They awaited the issue in profound silence. A succession of bold strokes, and the tree-top shivered. There was a rush of wind in the branches. Some more vigorous blows, and the huge tree cracked and came down, toppling over with its own weight, and split into four pieces, leaving a great patch of light in the green leafy vault, through which the sun fell on the triumphant Christian prelate.

The shuddering pagans bowed at once before the superior might of Christianity. But the want of

labourers was great, and Boniface turned to his native land for a supply of missionaries. The Anglo-Saxon monasteries responded at once, their gates were thrown open, and many zealous servants of God came to offer themselves to Boniface—Lull, who was to succeed Boniface one day; Willibald, just returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; Wunnibald, and Witta. Wigbert he placed at the head of a monastic colony at Fritzlar. Denehard entered so closely into the feelings of Boniface, that he was used by him repeatedly on his most delicate embassies to Rome. His sphere of work was in Thuringia. Burchard became later Bishop of Würzburg; we know nothing of his early life. A nobleman of Noricum came to offer Boniface his son, to be educated in the service of God. This son was Sturm, who became the founder of the abbey of Fulda. From the convents of England, as from a hive, issued likewise a swarm of widows and virgins, the mothers, sisters, and kinswomen of the missionaries, eager to share their labours and perils. Chief of these is Lioba, a kinswoman of Boniface, one of the sweetest characters in ecclesiastical biography, "beautiful as the angels, fascinating in her speech, learned in the Holy Scriptures and canons;" she was set as abbess at Bischofsheim. The gentle Walpurgis settled near her brother at Eichstädt; Chunihild and her daughter Berathgith were stationed in Thuringia; Chunidrat was sent into Bavaria; Thecla to Kitzingen on the Main. "Providence"—beautifully says M. Ozanam—"has placed women beside all cradles."

And Boniface needed all the assistance that could be given him, for he met with opposition, not so much from the heathen, as from the Irish missionaries and those trained under them, and from the Frank bishops. Boniface represents not only Roman obedience in opposition to Celtic independence, but also the Benedictine rule which was set in opposition to that of S. Columbanus. The names of several of those who resisted him are given; they are not Celtic names, but they belonged to men, perhaps Franks, who had been reared in all the peculiarities and prejudices of the Celtic missionaries. This resistance came to an end in 726. Boniface set to work to regulate all kinds of disorders in Thuringia, and to establish the Church on a firm basis in Hesse. As he gained power and brought order into the confusion, so did he occasion uneasiness in the minds of the worldly-minded Frank bishops. For nearly ten years did he work in Hesse and Thuringia. He could as yet do nothing with the reformation of the Frank Church: Charles Martell stood in his way.

Several years had elapsed since Gregory II., at the request of Duke Theodo, had sent a legation into Bavaria to organize the Church there; but, owing to the death of the duke, and the opposition of his successor, nothing had been done. Hucbert who was duke now, was amenable to Charles Martell, and the letter of safe conduct Boniface had received would protect him in Hucbert's dominions. He therefore now adventured himself in Bavaria. We know, however, little of what he did there, except that

he visited several churches, and deposed a schismatic. Hucbert cannot have regarded him with a favourable eye: he helped him in no way, and Boniface, though he recognized that Bavaria needed sorely episcopal supervision, was unable to arrange for it.

His efforts in Bavaria were not absolutely fruitless, but he left the duchy unable to accomplish what was necessary, because of the indifference or opposition of the duke; and Charles Martell was not the man to do anything to soften opposition.

Boniface had now reached a turning-point in his life. The papal commission given to him had been discharged; he had done his work as thoroughly as it could be done under the circumstances, and now he resolved to resign his episcopal office as administrator of Hesse and Thuringia and devote himself to mission work among the Saxons, who were still heathen, and were the terror of their Christian neighbours. He therefore went again to Rome, in the summer of 738. His friend Gregory II. was dead, and Gregory III. occupied the chair of S. Peter.

Gregory III. did not respond to the wish of Boniface: he judged the position of affairs otherwise than did Boniface. He was most anxious that the Church in Bavaria should also be taken in hand and reformed by the man who had dealt so faithfully in Thuringia. After a stay of a year in Rome, Boniface was sent back into Germany. Hucbert was dead, and Charles Martell had given the dukedom to Odilo, a member of the Agilulf family, who had married his daughter

Hiltrude, and Charles had taken Sonichild, niece of Odilo, as his concubine.

Odilo was a born prince, haughty, brave, a man of council and of action. And yet the choice was not happy, for he bore the dependence on the Frank Empire with impatience. Before long he was the determined opponent of the Arnulfings. He united Swabia, Saxony, Aquitania, and the Sclaves against the Frank domination. With regard to Church matters he was not indifferent. He treated the Church with favour, he made donations to churches, and favoured the servants of God. He resolved to call Boniface to his aid to reform the Church in his duchy. He wrote to him, and Boniface responded with alacrity. Supported by Duke Odilo, Boniface set to work at once with his characteristic energy. Vivilo was the only bishop he found in the duchy : he was at Passau. He had been consecrated in Rome in 731 by Gregory III. to the bishopric of Lorch ; but in 738 he was forced along with his clergy to fly from it before the Avars, and he took refuge at Passau. When in 739 Boniface began to divide Bavaria into dioceses, this man was allowed to remain where he had taken up his residence, and Passau became his see. Boniface did not like the man, but he was obliged to let him remain, and Odilo and his son Thassilo made over to him for the support of the Church all their own possessions in and near Passau, together with the tolls on the market.

A second bishopric was founded at Ratisbon, the Bavarian capital, and the first bishop was Wicterp,

according to one authority a member of the Agilulfing family. He is described in 754 as an old man, almost blind, of ninety years, who, on showing dissatisfaction with the changes Boniface was then introducing, was presently turned out of his see by Boniface, who put in his room Garibald. But there is some uncertainty about Wicterp. He seems to have been in bishop's orders before, and perhaps the truth of the matter is that his discontent and opposition to Boniface arose out of the fact that he was passed over, and the diocese given to another man not yet in episcopal orders.

On the throne of S. Rupert, Boniface placed a certain John, who was probably one of his companions, a man of British origin, but little else is known of him. John was succeeded in 743 by Virgilius, an Irishman, who after having been with Pippin was recommended by him to Duke Odilo for the see of Salzburg. Boniface disliked him, and brought exaggerated accusations against him to the Pope, at one time that he had allowed the validity of a baptism by a priest in bad grammar, "in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta," * then that he stirred up the duke against him, and lastly that he believed in antipodes, not that the earth was round, but that trolls and dwarfs inhabited the mines underground, that is to say, shared the common belief of the mountain people.

A fourth bishopric was erected at Freising, and to this Boniface was obliged to consent to nominate

* Boniface insisted on re-baptism, but Pope Zacharias wisely decided against him, as the baptism was performed "with right intent."

Erembert brother to a certain Corbinian, a regionary bishop who had been highly reverenced by the Bavarians.

Both the arranging of the bounds of the bishoprics and the nomination to the sees took place with the consent of the duke, consequently Boniface met with no open hostility. He exhorted the new bishops to examine into the condition of the belief and morals of the clergy, and to call synods in which canons might be passed as need required. Hand in hand with the foundation of bishoprics went the establishment of monasteries, Altaich and Benedictbeuren.

Boniface, having thus ordered the Church in Bavaria, returned into Thuringia with the intention of doing the same work there. Gregory III. had been urgent on Charles Martell to assist him against the Lombards. Charles refused, but to soften the harshness of this refusal agreed so far to meet the wishes of the Pope in another direction, as to allow of the erection of three new bishoprics in Thuringia and Hesse.

Boniface chose Buraburg (the site of which is now lost), Würzburg, and Erfurt, and the ordination of the first bishops to these sees took place in 741. S. Adelar was the first and sole bishop who occupied Erfurt. After his death—he was killed with S. Boniface in Friesland—no other bishop was appointed. S. Burchard occupied the new See of Würzburg; and over Buraburg was placed the Englishman Witta.

S. Boniface had reached the age of sixty-five, an

age at which most men's active work is over. But with it for him opened a new sphere of activity for which he had long looked and hoped in vain—the reformation of the Frank Church in Germany.

In the year 741 died quickly one after another Charles Martell and Gregory III. Charles had ruled despotically over the Frank kingdom; after his death the realm was divided by his will between his sons Carlmann and Pippin. Carlmann had Austrasia, Swabia, and Thuringia; Pippin had Neustria and Burgundy. Boniface was therefore brought into immediate relation with Carlmann. The new ruler was a man full of religious enthusiasm, and eager to do all he could for the welfare of the Church. Boniface's opportunity had arrived. As the proverb says, "Everything comes to him who can wait." Carlmann sent for Boniface, and exhorted him to undertake the reformation of the Church in his dominions. Boniface at once seized the occasion. A synod was called for April, 742, by Carlmann, the first that had been held in the Frank Church for many years. It was a diet as well; the nobles assembled with the bishops. Of these latter, however, few appeared save those who had been appointed by Boniface. Gewiliep of Mainz and Milo of Trèves kept away. The bishops declined to attend because they had no desire for reform. As there was no opposition, Boniface carried all his points. Synods were required thenceforth to meet annually, every priest was made subject to the bishop in whose diocese he was, and was required every year to give an account of his

stewardship to his spiritual overseer. The bearing of arms by the clergy was forbidden. On the monasteries the rule of S. Benedict was imposed. For ten years Boniface had borne the title of Archbishop conferred on him by the Pope. Carlmann ignored this, and appointed Boniface archbishop at the synod. However well disposed Carlmann was towards the Church, he was not in the smallest degree inclined to relinquish the royal prerogative that had been exercised by the kings, and since the death of Dagobert by the mayors of the palace. Boniface had the advantage of the Church too much at heart to demur on this occasion.

A second important synod was held in 743 at Lestinnes. Unfortunately we do not know the names of the bishops who attended. This council carried on the work of reform begun the year before.

In the meantime there had been trouble in Bavaria, and Pope Zacharias had played there a double game. He had encouraged Odilo to revolt, and then, when he saw that Odilo's was the losing side, withdrew, equivocated, and denied any participation. Eichstädt was now made a see under S. Willibald (A.D. 471), a kinsman of S. Boniface.

The defeat of Odilo had its advantages. Had he succeeded, the Bavarian Church would have been separated from that in Germany; as it was, it continued to be a member of the whole German Church, and Boniface exercised metropolitan jurisdiction over it. But he was an archbishop without a seat. Again all comes to him who knows how to wait. His most

bitter opponents were Milo of Trèves and Gewiliep of Mainz, and they were too powerful for him to oppose. Milo he never was able to reach, but the occasion came at last when he could humble Gewiliep. In a war of Charles' against the Saxons, Bishop Gerold of Mainz had gone out to battle with his chief and had been slain. His son Gewiliep succeeded him. He was a man of decent morals, but was addicted to hawks and hounds, and he opposed in every way he could the efforts made by Boniface to reform the Church. He had been a layman, but was given the see in compensation for the loss of his father.

Gewiliep cherished the sacred hereditary duty of revenging his father's death. He discovered the man by whose hand Gerold had fallen, lured him to an amicable interview in an island on the river, and stabbed him to the heart. Neither king nor nobles thought this exaction of blood for blood the least disqualification for a Christian bishop. But the Christianity of S. Boniface was superior to the dominant barbarism. The blood-stained bishop was deposed by the act of a synod ; and then, as vacated, the see was constituted metropolitan, and was assumed by Boniface, who thence exercised jurisdiction over the whole of Germany.

In 747 Carlmann resigned his power and place, and retired into a monastery at Rome, bequeathing his son to the perilous guardianship of his brother Pippin.

And now the conviction deepened in the mind of Boniface that the day of his departure was at hand.

Lull had, indeed, been appointed his coadjutor in the See of Mainz; but his appointment had not yet received the royal sanction, and till this was secured, Boniface could not feel free from anxiety for the welfare of his flock. One of his latest letters, therefore, was addressed to Fuldrad, Pippin's arch-chaplain, soliciting his protection, and that of his master, in behalf of his clergy and his ecclesiastical foundations.

"Nearly all my companions," he wrote, "are strangers in the land. Some are priests distributed in various places to celebrate the offices of the Church, and minister to the people; some are monks living in different monasteries, engaged in teaching the young; some are aged men, who have long borne with me the burden and heat of the day. For all these I am full of anxiety, lest after my death they should be scattered as sheep without a shepherd. Let them have a share of thy countenance and protection. Suffer also, Lull, my son and coadjutor, to preside over the churches, that both priests and people may find in him a guide. I have many reasons for making these requests. My priests on the heathen borders are in deep poverty; bread they can obtain, but not clothing. Let me know whether thou canst promise the granting of my request, that, whether I live or die, I may have some assurance of the future."

The royal permission that Lull should succeed him arrived, and his mind was relieved from its load of anxiety. And now, fully persuaded that throughout

his life he had not followed that course which had been marked out for him by the Divine finger, that he had failed in the special mission entrusted to him, though seventy-five years of age, his conscience goaded him to resume his missionary work among the Frisians. With a retinue of three priests, three deacons, four monks, and forty-one laymen, he embarked on board a vessel (A.D. 755), and sailed down the Rhine. At Utrecht he was joined by Edban, an old pupil, whom he had placed in charge of the see, and then together they advanced into the eastern part of Frisia, and commenced their labours. There he met his death, surrounded and cut down, along with most of his comrades, by a party of enraged heathens.

Well may Germany reverence the memory of her great apostle. He did not, indeed, carry the light like Willibrord where it had never shone before, but he reduced to order what was in confusion, dissipated the last shadows of heathenism, and left the Church behind his death furnished with admirable men, having the fear of God before their eyes, and the land parcelled out into episcopal sees, and decided steps had been taken towards rectifying those abuses which had brought this Church to the dust of the earth.

That Boniface subjected the Church to the Papal authority, exerted in a manner unheard of before, there can be no doubt. He had to fight against many foes, and he must set his back against something firm. Charles Martell was not the man to help him, but to stand in the way of reform, though he did not object to the conversion of heathens. To

whom else could Boniface appeal but to the Pope? He had not only the Frank demoralised clergy to deal with, he had also ranged against him the Celtic missionaries; he must have some source of authority to appeal to against the pretensions of the Irish, and to weight his censures of the degenerate Frank clergy. Directly that Carlmann succeeded Charles Martell, Boniface had little to say to Rome; he claimed help for his work from the king, and he did not scruple to rebuke Pope Stephen when he, on his visit to Pippin, presumed to ordain a bishop to Metz, without the consent of himself, with whom the canonical right lay.

Boniface was not a man of large mind, but he was a man of a single heart. A greater man in intellect and breadth was that Virgilius of Salzburg whom he disliked and misunderstood. But he was a man who sought as the one end of his life the glory of God and the advancement of His kingdom.

VI.

CHARLES THE GREAT.

Providence raises up special men to execute special work—Such a man, Charles the Great—Decay of Discipline since the death of S. Boniface—The Clergy and Hunting—Schools instituted—The "Missi"—Episcopal Visitations—Charles strengthens the position of Metropolitans and Bishops—Synods—His Rule as head of the Church—The Arch-chaplain's office.

WHEN it is the will of Divine Providence that the development of mankind, brought to a halt, should again be set in motion, that what lags should be brought into line, and that fresh directions should be taken in the forward march, when Providence would lay the bases on which future generations should build, slowly, may be, and at intervals—then it calls forth those men whom history, and not the flattery of courtiers, designates great. These men are the living tools with which Eternal Providence works, men working upon men, as is God's method of procedure. These men are the axles round which all turns in their epoch, the pillars on which all that is great in their age rests, the motive force which sets the whole mass of men in motion over whom they have influence. Nothing great happens without them, nothing that does not bear the stamp and colour of their individuality.

But this manifestation of grandeur is not without its sad intermixture. Greatness cannot be bequeathed. When the great men die, life and spirit evaporate from what they have summoned into existence: the fabric totters and falls. It is well, however, for mankind, that usually, if not always, the foundations remain intact, so that after-generations can recommence the structure in a more humble manner, but following the same lines. What has passed away belongs to history, what remains, to the present; but the present can look back on the image of the past, and encourage itself thereat to proceed with vigour and with the judgment bred of experience.

Among the great men of history, probably no man has ever better merited the epithet of "the Great" than did Charlemagne. Not because he made great conquests and widely extended the Empire; for Alexander and Attila did as much; his greatness lies in quite another direction. He was the restorer of the political, intellectual, and religious life of his time. He provided for his realm the most admirable code of laws; with marvellous foresight and judgment he ruled the Empire and the Church, correcting what was wrong in each, organizing in each, caring for the welfare of all in their several grades in each. He selected and nominated to their offices the best men in both State and Church, and guided the whole political and religious life in his Empire. Endowed by nature with a lofty intelligence, with a passionate love for all that was great, good, and beautiful, he restored the broken-down civilization of the West,

and sought to do for it, what had not been sought by any of his predecessors, to root it into the very national life of his people. He was as great in small matters as in large. His clear practical common-sense neglected no side of human existence; he cared alike for the material, the social, the spiritual, and the intellectual well-being of men. He laid down as careful and sensible rules for the conduct of one of his farms as he did for the government of a great realm.

It is not our place here to write either the history of the times in which Charles lived, or his biography. We will consider solely the relations in which he stood to the Church.

When Charles the Great began to reign (A.D. 768), he found that in the thirteen years since the death of S. Boniface, matters ecclesiastical in Germany had fallen back greatly from the high position to which that great reformer, supported by Carlmann, had brought them. Beyond the range of the influence and operations of Boniface, nothing had been done; the clergy of Neustria and of Burgundy had not been reformed at all. Charles found that the majority of the episcopal sees and abbeys were occupied by men who were drunkards, roysterers, turbulent warriors, and passionate hunters, who had neither the will nor the faculty to fulfil decently the obligations of their sacred calling. Charles, earnestly resolved to liberate his people from the chains of ignorance and savagery, and to elevate them to a higher stage of culture, moral and social, saw that he must begin with the

clergy, the first estate in his realm, the mainstay of his throne, which by its position and calling was calculated to exercise an enormous sway over the people for good or for bad.

The improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the clergy was the main object of his attention throughout his entire reign, and he left no means untried to reach his end. His first step was to wean the clergy from their love of war and the chase, and to cut off occasion for their bearing arms; he released the bishops and abbots from their obligation to follow the host when called out for a campaign. He also forbade all hunting with hawks and hounds. But this command could not be enforced. To a free German the chase was as necessary as the air he breathed, and after several vain efforts, Charles was obliged to permit it under the condition that the skins of the wild beasts slain should be employed for binding the books in the libraries. The clergy had also delighted in the turmoil and adventure of battle, as it gave them opportunity of becoming illustrious through bold achievements, and of enriching themselves on the spoil of the enemy. But they resigned this occupation more readily than the chase, especially since a new field of activity and of gaining honour and influence was opened to them.

Under the guidance of his friend Alcuin, Charles founded schools in which the young clergy might be trained, who were afterwards to be invested with positions of responsibility, and these schools turned

out a number of learned, conscientious, and sincerely religious men whom Charles delighted to advance to the highest ecclesiastical offices. Through his and Alcuin's indefatigable efforts, in time, the worldly-minded and ignorant prelates were weeded out, and their places filled with men of learning and exemplary lives, men in whom he was able to place such confidence that he not only gave up to them the charge of the secular courts of justice in their dioceses, but he also associated them with his legates whom he sent annually through the provinces to see that the dukes and counts in their several spheres executed justice aright. Moreover, from among them he selected his privy councillors, his chancellors, and his ambassadors.

In order to free his people from oppression at the hands of the dukes and counts, and to see that his commands were promptly and properly executed, the Emperor Charles despatched annually into every part of the realm, persons of proved integrity and intelligence, invested with supreme authority, to investigate into the rule of the dukes and counts, to hear the complaints of the people, and to rectify all abuses. These men were called *Missi dominici*, and usually two were appointed for each province, whereof one was a layman of his court, and the other a bishop. Only in extraordinary cases was there a single *missus*. Distinct from these visits of inspection were the visitations the bishops were required to conduct in their dioceses, in order to hold therein spiritual courts in which spiritual cases might be

heard and judged. These visitations also had to be made annually. Every bishop was required by Charles to make a yearly tour of inspection through his diocese. He might not, however, act as sole and arbitrary judge in his courts, for he was required to have with him seven assessors.

That the bishops on these visitations were attended by a considerable retinue even in the reign of Charles is apparent from the regulations laid down for the entertainment of the bishop and his followers on such occasions. According to the capitularies of Ludwig the Pious in 819, a bishop received as his "procuration" daily, forty loaves, one pig, three young porkers, three fowls, fifteen eggs, three tuns of ale, and four sacks of oats for the horses.

Charles strengthened the position of the metropolitans, and assured to them their rights. "The bishops shall," he ordered, "according to canonical right, obey those whom we have invested with metropolitan authority." An appeal from a bishop was to the metropolitan, from the sentence of a metropolitan only to himself. Of appeal to the Pope there is no mention in the capitularies of Charles; such appeals were unnecessary, as all questions were discussed in synod by the emperor and the bishops together.

Charles regarded the bishops as the mainstay of his whole ecclesiastical order, the centre of all religious life in the dioceses. He issued numerous injunctions to consolidate the authority of the bishop; he allowed no priest, no abbey, no convent to be exempt from

his jurisdiction. Only by such means could discipline be maintained among the clergy, and a high tone of morals in the monastic houses. In after years, the popes interfered with diocesan organization, weakened the authority of the metropolitans, and withdrew abbeys from the jurisdiction of the bishops and placed them under their own immediate authority.

Charles had recourse to synods and diets as the most efficacious means of carrying out his reforms. In these he met the bishops and abbots face to face; he laid before them the purposes that were so much at his heart, with all the warmth of his pious eagerness, for the advancement of true religion, and with all that personal influence which his greatness, his sincerity, as well as his position lent him. They obeyed at first sullenly, but their consciences told them he was in the right. They began to see how advantageous his reforms were; gradually they were drawn within the vortex of his enthusiasm, and worked with right goodwill. Fifty-six diets and synods, held in the thirty-three years of his reign, in which the conditions of Church and realm were discussed and regulated, are the imperishable testimony to Charles's right to a high place in the world's history as an epoch-making man. And be it remembered in all the years of his reign his sword was never sheathed.

Charles made a great point of preaching. In a circular to the archbishops of his realm, he wrote: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Charles, etc., to the Archbishop

Odilbert, that God may bless him. It has often been my innermost desire to converse with you and your colleagues in confidence over the welfare of the holy Church of God, when without inconvenience you can come to us. However assured I may be that your holiness serves the Lord with all zeal, yet I desire by means of this letter, inspired by the Holy Spirit, to urge and exhort you to still further exert yourself in the Church of God, to be even more watchful than heretofore in declaring the Divine Word and wholesome doctrine, that through your faithful efforts the true Word of life may spread, and the number of Christian people may abound to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, I desire that you will inform us, through a letter or a *missus*, in what manner you and your suffragans instruct the clergy committed to your charge, and the people under you, and how you administer the sacrament of baptism, etc."

He urged that preaching should be simple and popular, that all the people should be required to send their children to the parish priest or into the abbey schools to be grounded in learning, at least in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and Commandments in the vulgar tongue. He ordered the putting aside of all fantastical legends, and arbitrary veneration of saints. Sometimes he sent round to the bishops a subject on which he required them to preach, then he laid before them test questions to prove their competence. Thus no ignorant prelate remained undiscovered, none lax in his duties unrebuked, and precautions were taken that no man incompetent

through lack of learning or bad morals could be advanced to any place of importance in the Church.

A story told of him, perhaps grounded on fact, shows at all events what was thought of the manner in which he acted in the appointment to bishoprics. He had once lost his way when hunting, and was obliged to pass the night in the house of a poor priest, who ministered in a little lonely church in the forest to a few poor woodcutters. The priest entertained him, not knowing who was his guest, with the best he had, and next morning, as the king would go, urged him first to hear mass in his little church. Charles offered his host a piece of gold in reward for his hospitality, but this was declined. "Your gold I need not," said the priest; "but if you will do me a favour, give me the skin of some beast wherewith to cover my breviary." Charles was so pleased with the lack of greed in the man that he elevated him to a bishopric. If this story be true, then the man was Amalarius of Trèves, whom he ever after highly valued.

A remarkable instance of Charles's exercise of almost papal power in the Frank Church is the fact that he issued a corrected edition of the Vulgate, and authorised its use in the Church, and that he revised both the Missal and Breviary without consulting the bishops, other than those whom he perfectly relied on as competent scholars, and he did this certainly without asking leave of the Pope. The king summoned the councils on his own authority, issued disciplinary laws to, and executed judgment on, the clergy, acting as head of the Church in his realms. Spiritual matters

formed a special department of the State, and over them was set the arch-chaplain, who administered them in the king's name. As gradually, later, spiritual affairs became more and more dissociated from those of the State, the office of Arch-chaplain was changed into that of Chancellor, who however continued to be an ecclesiastic.

VII.

THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS.

Two Germanies : one Christian, the other heathen—The arrival of the Saxons—The Contests with the Saxons—Charles the Great attempts to subdue them—Revolt again and again—Wittekind heads the Saxons—Their stubborn Resistance to Charles—Defeat of Wittekind—Submits to Baptism—A fresh revolt—Bishopric of Bremen founded—The Saxons, once converted, become zealous Christians—Translations and Versifications—The Bishoprics of Bremen, Paderborn, Minden, Osnabrück.

THERE were now two Germanies, one Christian and under settled government, organized into a state, the other heathen, and broken into several peoples. The Christian Germany extended from the Rhine, a little below Cologne, to those high lands, the very umbel of Germany, the Fichtelgebirge, and then swept down along the Böhmer Wald to Passau. It included the Hessians and the Thuringians and Bavarians. It may be said that approximately the Frank Christian kingdom was coextensive with Upper Germany, the hill country that reaches to the Teutoberger Wald, the Harz, and the Thuringian Forest. North of this natural frontier the vast weariful plains that reached to the North Sea and Baltic were in the hands of the Saxons, divided into the Westphalian, the Eastphalian,

and the Angivarian branches. To the east of the Elbe were the Sclavic hordes pressing on, Wends, Serbs, Avars, Czechs, the latter already in Bohemia, whence the Bavarians had issued.

A story was told to explain the existence of the Saxons who occupied all this northern tract. They had come by sea. The Thuringians had previously extended to the coast. One day a shipload of Saxons arrived on the beach, and one of the number landed, and met a young Thuringian, to whom he offered his gold torque and bracelets if he might be given a little land. The Thuringian presented to him a handful of earth, and received the gold ornaments in return. He took them to his comrades, laughing at the folly of the strangers, when to his and their surprise, they saw all the shipload of Saxons disembark, and, scattering the handful of dust about them in a wide circle, declare, "We bought this with our gold, and we will defend it with our blood." Thenceforth, having obtained a foothold, they rolled the Thuringians back to the hills.

The Saxons were a sturdy, obstinate, and warlike people. Their invasion caused the Frank kings and mayors much annoyance.

Charles deemed it essential for the security of the realm to subject these unruly people, and to extend the frontier of his kingdom to the Elbe. But he could not hope for a lasting peace till the Saxons had been brought within the fold of the Church. He therefore considered himself justified in the employment of force to compel these turbulent neighbours to receive the Gospel. A national war was engaged in, on both

sides fought out with equal passion and bitterness. The Saxons contended for their ancient freedom, for their faith, and for the customs of their fathers; the Franks for sovereignty, for Christ, for the Church, and for civilization. And although we may admire the dauntless heroism of the Saxons in their prolonged contest for their most sacred possessions, their political freedom, and their liberty of conscience, nevertheless the final conquest by the Franks and by Christianity was an inevitable necessity and advantage, for so alone could they be elevated from savagery into a condition of culture, and to the adoption of nobler forms of life, which, without this conquest, they would never have acquired of themselves. It remains a fact that in later times it was precisely the Saxons who made the very kernel of the German people, and it was among them that the Gospel most influenced the inner life.

In the year 772, Charles crossed the Rhine from Worms at the head of a large Frank army, then penetrated to those regions among forests and morasses where, under Arminius, the Cherusci had made such a desperate stand against the Romans. Without much opposition he penetrated into Saxony proper, stormed the citadel of Eresburg (now Stadtburg), on the Diemel, and destroyed the Irmensul, the great national idol of the people, a symbol of the Worldtree, the all-sustaining principle of life. By this act he stamped his campaign as a religious one from the outset; he pushed on to the Weser, the Saxons submitted, took an oath of allegiance, and

swore not to oppose the teachers of the new faith to be sent into their midst. Charles little supposed that his contest against the Saxons would occupy him for thirty-two years, when events in Italy obliged him to leave the Rhine and hasten across the Alps.

Desiderius, king of the Lombards, had fallen on the Roman lands and threatened Rome itself. In his distress Pope Hadrian appealed to Charles; Charles in vain endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties; Desiderius rejected all overtures of peace, believing that Charles was fully engaged with the Saxons. In 774 the Franks crossed the Alps in two columns, one by the great S. Bernard, the other over Mont Cenis. Desiderius was defeated with great slaughter, and Charles entered Rome. Desiderius was banished to Liége or Corbie, and there ended his days. With him disappears the entire Lombard royal race from history, and Charles assumed the iron crown and title of King of Lombardy. The Pope constituted him likewise protector of the Roman Church.

No sooner was Charles in Italy, than the Saxons revolted, fell upon Hesse and devastated it with fire and sword; under Duke Wittekind, a man of noble race and large possessions, they retook the Eresburg, and came down on the lower Rhine. Charles flew back (775) across the Alps, and organized another campaign against the Saxons. He marched up the Ruhr, and took the Saxon fortress of Siegburg at the confluence of the Lenne and the Ruhr, recaptured Eresburg, crossed the Weser, and penetrated to the Eastphalians, as far as the Ocker.

Whilst he was engaged in Germany, the Lombards rose in insurrection (776), and Charles had to return to Italy. Immediately the Saxons retook Eresburg and destroyed all the defences Charles had erected. He speedily subjugated the revolted Lombards and returned to Saxony, where he rebuilt Eresburg, and founded a fortress at the source of the Lippe. The Saxons gave up hostages, and submitted to be baptized. Charles was now so confident that their resistance was broken, that, in a diet held at Paderborn in the land of the Angivari, he divided up the conquered country into districts after the Frank pattern. The Saxons attended in great numbers, and made promises of obedience; but the absence of Wittekind, the heroic Duke of Westphalia, who had fled to his brother-in-law, the king of the Danes, gave warning that the peace then concluded would be of no long continuance.

Whilst Charles was at Paderborn, a strange embassy arrived. Messengers from the Arab viceroy of Saragossa, who had been banished by the Calif of Cordova, came to Charles and desired his assistance for Abderrahman. Charles grasped at the occasion, and in 778 crossed the Pyrenees, stormed Saragossa, and conquered the land up to the Ebro. On his return, however, he was harassed in the defiles of the Pyrenees, and met with a great disaster that cost him an army at Roncesvalles.

No sooner did the news of this disaster, magnified by rumour, reach the Saxons, than they threw their oaths to the winds and again invaded Frank

territory. Wittekind had returned, and, convinced that the secret of the failure of the Saxons lay in their lack of unity, he had succeeded in bringing them to agree to combined action. A general rising of all the Saxon branches of the stock took place.

Plundering, murdering, burning, the host swept forward, the smoke of the convents and castles marked their course, and before them fled the priests and monks and Franks settled in the country. The Saxons had reached the left bank of the Rhine, devastating all before them (A.D. 778), when they were encountered by the Herr-bann, hastily called together, and were driven back. Then they turned aside, ravaged Thuringia and Hesse with fire and sword, and the monks of Fulda were constrained to fly, carrying with them the bones of S. Boniface.

Embittered by this insurrection of the stubborn, intractable Saxons, Charles in the following spring (779) led an army over the Rhine, defeated the Saxons at Rocholt, and again drove them back to the Weser, and in the following year (780) to the Elbe, took hostages, built fortresses, and had great numbers baptized. So confident was he now that the Saxons were subdued, that in the following year (781) he undertook a journey to Rome, when the Pope crowned his son Pippin, king of the Lombards, and his son Ludwig, king of Aquitania. In the meantime in Saxony, the introduction of Christianity was actively pursued. Churches and monasteries were erected, bishops' sees constituted, and the tithe

appointed to be collected for the maintenance of the clergy.

For two years the Saxons had been at peace, but the exaction of tax and tithe reminded them that they had lost their independence. Between the Elbe and the Saale lived a Sclavonic race, the Serbs. As this race gave trouble, Charles sent an army against them. Whilst thus engaged, Wittekind summoned his countrymen to rise once more, and was obeyed with alacrity. The division sent against the Serbs was recalled, and another division despatched to unite with it against the insurgents. According to Charles's instructions both divisions were to unite, but instead of so doing, the first attacked the camp of Wittekind, and was defeated (A.D. 782). The army was annihilated, and with it perished both commanders, four counts, and about twenty nobles. The Saxons, after their victory, destroyed the newly-erected churches, and slew or drove away all the clergy that had been sent among them. The patience of Charles was exhausted, he treated the Saxons as insurgents who had broken their oaths, and established a court at Werden on the Aller. Wittekind had fled, but 4500 of his adherents were delivered over by the Saxon chiefs, cowed by the presence in their midst of the great king. Hitherto, Charles had conducted his campaigns with humanity, and had done his utmost by gentleness and persuasion to induce the Saxons to accept Christianity, and his rule; but now his anger led him to reprisals for what he regarded as their treachery, reprisals that were cruel and unchristian.

He had all the 4500 Saxons, who had been delivered over to him, put to death in one day; and he issued a command that henceforth the performance of any pagan rite, the evasion of baptism, or apostasy, or any desecration of a church, should be dealt with capitally.

The bloody day at Werden had filled the Saxons with the wildest hostility. Frenzied with resentment, they summoned to a general insurrection against Frank rule, and even those branches of the race which had not hitherto taken an active part in resistance to Charles, now joined against the common foe. Wittekind again placed himself at the head of the insurgents. But victory declared for the Franks, and after a tremendous battle (A.D. 783) on the Haase, in Osnabrück, the power of the Saxons was so completely and irretrievably broken, that Wittekind himself saw that further resistance was unavailing. With some other nobles he sought the king at Attigny in Champagne, was received with respect, and there he and they submitted to be baptized (A.D. 785). Thenceforth they remained as steadfast in their allegiance and Christian belief, as they had been resolute before in their contest for independence and for their ancient gods. Thousands of nobles and freemen followed their example in Saxony.

After the conversion of Wittekind the Saxons remained tranquil for seven years. The old laws of the Saxons were made to give way for the introduction of Frank law, and the people were forced in

every manner to feel that they were a subjugated race. What especially angered them seems to have been the exaction of tithe, and compulsory military service in wars beyond their frontiers. Saxon and Frisian hosts followed the standard of Charles with reluctance, over the Pyrenees, and into Istria and Pannonia. The bitterness grew more intense with every year, and when a levy was held to form an army against the Sclaves and Avars, the torch of war again blazed and was carried from hand to hand. Throughout the whole of Northern Saxony insurrections broke out, priests and bishops were driven away, churches were destroyed, and pagan worship was restored with wild enthusiasm.

This new revolt filled the Frank sovereign with wrath, and strengthened him in the resolve to use all the force of the Frank monarchy to break the strength of the stubborn Saxons, and drive them under the yoke. His position at the time was difficult. He was at war with the Avars; in Bavaria there was a feeling of impatience and resistance awake. However, he never swerved from his determination for a moment, and met his difficulties with firmness and ability. Two large armies were sent over the Rhine, and formed a camp between Eresburg and Paderborn, and he inspired such terror into the Saxons, that the insurrection ceased, and they sent hostages, and again swore allegiance. But now Charles removed vast numbers of the Saxons from their native habitations, and transplanted them to other parts of his realm, and sent Frank settlers to

colonize the deserted homesteads. Moreover, he maintained an army for long in Saxony, which was occupied in traversing it from end to end, terrorising the people and watching against any outbreak of revolt. But Charles tempered his severity with mildness. He restored to the Saxons the use of their ancient laws, customs, and their personal freedom. After the final subjugation of the Saxons, the ecclesiastical organization of the country was completed. Already in 788 the Bishopric of Bremen had been founded.

Now six others were constituted. Bremen, Paderborn and Minden, were for the Angivaric Saxons; Münster and Osnabrück for the Northern Westphalians; the Westphalians of the South, near the Rhine, were placed under Cologne; Werden and Hildesheim were for the Eastphalians, and Halberstadt for the Thuringian Saxons. Out of these episcopal seats flourishing cities sprang up in the course of time. Pious missionaries, among whom were those who issued from Fulda, roused and nourished in the people a spirit of Christian devotion, and little by little the stubbornness of old Saxon paganism yielded to the mild and healing influence of the Gospel. Although Christianity had been imposed by the sword, yet, nevertheless, it took deep root in the hearts of the people, and assumed among the Saxons a remarkably vigorous and original life. The sacred story was committed to verse by a Saxon monk, commonly called Heliand, in the reign of Ludwig the Pious, the son of Charles the Great, and is

almost the sole relic that remains of the language of the Saxons in the 9th century; it is interesting as a sample of the folk-poetry of the period. It was composed because the Saxons delighted in heroic lays; and the Saxon monk undertook to tell them the story of the Old and New Testament in the metre and manner that delighted them. The Saxons remained after their subjugation a genuine German people, but only after their subjugation and conversion did they enter into that great confederacy of the German races which enabled the whole to develop its national character, independently of Roman influence. The union of all the Germanic races, moreover, served to hold in check the wave of Sclav immigration which threatened to overflow Germany.

The first Bishop of Bremen was Willehad, a Frisian, who had been sent there in 780 by Charles, but had been driven away in 782, when his companion Gerwal, a priest, was put to death. In 788 he returned to Bremen, and was succeeded in 789 by his disciple Willerich, who was driven from his see by the unruly Saxons, but returned in 804. The wooden church erected by his predecessor had been burnt down. He built the first stone church in Bremen, and dedicated it to S. Peter.

The first two Bishops of Paderborn, Hathumar and Badurad, were taken from amongst the members of the Chapter of Würzburg. Thence also was taken the first Bishop of Minden, a Saxon convert who had been there trained. Already, in 780, a certain missionary named Bernrad had worked

among the Westphalians; on his death, in 791, he was succeeded by Ludger, a noble Frisian, who had been trained at Utrecht, and then had visited York, where he won the regard of Alcuin. He was sent by Charles to succeed Bernrad in his work among the Westphalians, and made Mimigardevord his head-quarters, which afterwards, under the newer name of Münster, became the wealthiest and most important of the West Saxon dioceses. His success was great, and in 802 he was consecrated first Bishop of Münster, with jurisdiction over Saxons and Frisians.

About Wiko, first Bishop of Osnabrück, almost nothing is known, and great uncertainty prevails as to the first who occupied the See of Werden. The first Bishop of Hildesheim was not consecrated till 822, but he had laboured there previously. His name was Gunther, and he came from Rheims. Although Charles fixed on the site for a see, and appointed the limits of the diocese afterwards entitled Halberstadt, yet the first bishop, a Frieslander, was not appointed till 814 by Louis the Pious. He was a younger brother of S. Ludger of Münster.

It will be seen that not a single Frank was appointed to these sees, with the possible exception of Gunther of Hildesheim, of whose parentage we know nothing. This was wisely done, for the Saxons had too many causes for bitterness against the Franks to be readily won by missionaries of the race that had dealt them such wounds. Therefore Charlemagne sent among them Anglo-Saxons and Frisians. The bishops' seats became colonies round

which the converts gathered, centres from which the clergy went forth on their missions, and to which they returned with reports of what had been their success, and what was their further need; and thus, in an astonishingly short period, paganism had wholly disappeared, and the Saxons were both civilized and Christianized.

VIII.

CHARLES CROWNED EMPEROR.

The Coronation of Charles as Emperor of the West—Charles unconscious of the intention of Leo III.—The Mosaic of the triclinium at the Lateran—What the Coronation implied—Disastrous both to the Empire and to the Papacy—It provoked the Reformation.

THE Christmas Day of the last year in the 8th century of Christ had come. Charles the Great was in Rome. He attended the services of the Nativity with devotion at S. Peter's, accompanied by his court, and in all the pomp, somewhat barbaric, of a Frank king. The Pope himself, Leo III., sang High Mass, and the king knelt near the foot of the altar-steps. Suddenly, after the deacon had chanted in shrill tones the *Ite, missa est*, Leo turned, took a jewelled crown from off the altar, descended the steps, placed it on the brow of Charles, and proclaimed him Cæsar Augustus. The Roman people burst forth in a roar of approval. Then Leo proceeded to anoint Charles and his son Pippin.

Afterwards the great king solemnly assured Eginhard, his secretary, that the scene had not been preconcerted—that, indeed, he had not been consulted—and that, had he known the intention of Leo, he

would not have come to church that day. Charles was not a man to speak the untruth; there was no hypocrisy in him, and we may accept this disclaimer as a true statement of facts.

Why did the pope thus openly and daringly take this step of vast importance? He probably had no idea of how far-reaching this act would be. He and the Romans generally were weary of nominal subjection to the Eastern Cæsars. At Byzantium now reigned a woman, Irene, and she was rendered odious as the murderess of her son, and in her the Byzantine Empire seemed to be tottering to its fall. The Pope had obtained material help from the Frank king. Desiderius, the Lombard, had been crushed by Charles, and Leo was most desirous of obtaining strong help against other dangerous elements, not least of which were the turbulent citizens of Rome over whom he reigned spiritually. He enlisted on the side of the Papacy the strongest arm and most far-reaching sword of the time. It seemed to the Pope that a great future was opening before the mighty conqueror, and that heaven itself was declaring that a new Empire of the West was about to arise, as mighty as the old empire had been ere the barbarian invasions had brought it to ruin.

But Charles, on his side, cannot have been unwilling to receive the crown and unction conferred on him. This was not merely an accession of vague and indefinite grandeur, but it conferred on him substantial power. It was the consolidation of all Western Christendom. under one monarchy.

As one stands in the great narthex of the basilica of S. John Lateran, looking out over some of the crumbling walls of ancient Rome, on to the Campagna, one sees on the left a fragment, a sort of apse, inlaid with mosaic. On closer inspection this mosaic proves to be a representation of S. Peter, holding in one hand a stole, in the other a banner; at his feet kneel two men, on the right a clerk, on the left a warrior; S. Peter is delivering the stole to the former, and to the latter the banner. That clerk is Leo III., and that warrior is Charles the Great. This mosaic was set up in a triclinium erected by Leo at the Lateran, and it enables us to understand what was in his mind when he conferred the crown on Charles. He had formulated a doctrine that S. Peter was the dispenser of all spiritual and temporal authority, and that he had conferred supremacy in spiritual matters on the Pope, and in temporal matters on the emperor, and that the empire had now passed to the king of the Franks.

What the coronation actually implied was not clearly perceived; but perhaps in this very vagueness dwelt much of the majesty of the act. "In some unknown, undefined manner, the Empire of the West flowed from the Pope; the successor of S. Peter named, or sanctioned the naming of, the successor of Augustus and of Nero. The enormous power of Charlemagne, as contrasted with that of the Pope, disguised or ennobled the bold fiction, quelled at least all present inquiry, silenced any insolent doubt. If Charlemagne acknowledged the right of the Pope to bestow the empire by accepting it at his hands, who

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should presume to question the right of the Pope to define the limits of the Imperial authority thus bestowed and thus received? And Charlemagne's elevation to the empire invested his protection of the Pope in the more sacred character of a duty belonging to his office, ratified all his grants, which were now those not only of a conqueror, but of a successor to all the rights of the Cæsars. On one side the Teuton became a Roman, the King of the Franks was merged in the Western Emperor; on the other, Rome created the sovereign of the west, the sovereign of Latin Christianity." *

Each, Leo and Charles, looked to immediate advantage: Leo to the assertion and acceptation of a new and unheard-of claim, and also to obtaining protection against turbulent citizens; Charles to a spiritual sanction for his claim to empire, to a right which allowed him to interfere in Rome itself. Neither saw, and neither could see, that this momentous act of December 25, 800, would in the consequences be fatal to the empire, and disastrous to the last degree to the Papacy. This, after history shows. The emperors, instead of labouring to consolidate their power, to compact the entire German nation into one people, were distracted with vain ambitions that sprang out of the vague rights claimed by them as sovereigns of Italy. Their empire was torn by rival parties fomented by the popes, who felt that their only safety from the preponderating weight of power lodged in the hands of the emperors lay in sowing discord among their

* Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' bk. iv. c. 12.

subjects; and, on the other hand, the popes were morally and spiritually degraded. They stood over against the great Germanic Empire, which filled them with fear and jealousy, and instead of concerning themselves with spiritual matters, they occupied themselves first of all with political intrigue, and at length so hammered into the German conscience the perception that the one paramount enemy to German unity was the Roman Pontiff, that the revolt which we call the Reformation became general throughout the empire. It was the rising-up of the German nation, almost as one man, on which the perception had at last broken, that the Papacy had for seven centuries stood in the way of national independence, national unity, and the fulfilment of the national destiny.

IX.

THE LATER CAROLINGIANS AND THE CHURCH.

The Character of Louis the Pious—Reaction—The Discontent of the great vassals—Discontent of the Hierarchy—Breaking out of revolt—Defects in the Carolingian Constitution—The Herr-bann—Disappearance of the Freeholders—Union of Civil and Military powers in the hands of the Counts—What Charles had done for the Church—Could not blind the Eyes of the Bishops to the fact that he had made the Crown supreme—Wealth of the Church—The Collegiate Churches—Reform by Chrodegang—The two aims of the Hierarchy—Limitation of royal Power—Exaltation of the Papacy—The forged Capitularies—The forged Decretals—Their acceptance—Writers of the Period—The Frank Church and Image worship.

To govern that great empire built up by Charlemagne was no easy task. Only one equal to that man who had called it into existence could have held it together; and his son, Louis (Ludwig) the Pious, who succeeded him was not the man to do so. He was a good man, who would have made a benignant and beloved prince in a small realm; but he was incapable of ruling the vast empire, full of conflicting elements, that his father had left to him.

It lay in the nature of the case that under such a rule, a reaction must set in against an imperial constitution, to which Charles had given a form foreign to the traditions of those embraced within his empire,

and one that hampered their liberty and imperilled their interests in many ways. Charles, as had, indeed, his father before him, laboured to break the power of the great nobles. The Dukes of Bavaria, Aquitain, Allemania, and Friesland had been crushed, and their peoples bereft of an independence of which they had been proud, and to which their fondest reminiscences were linked. Having subdued them, the iron arm of Charles held them in subjection, held them in a provincial position; but they were restive, and strove impatiently to snap the chain that tied them to their neighbours, and to shake off the weight of the imperial hand that rested on their necks. Throughout the realm, the great vassals had been cast down and humbled; they had lost their power, their freedom; in the place of the old hereditary chiefs, there were only counts and margraves, nominated by Charles from among his courtiers, with small circles in which to exercise their authority, removable at the will of the monarch, and under constant check by the *missi*; wholly dependent for everything—position, wealth, authority—on the will of the king. Then, again, the new *Placita*, or Diets, were different from what the people had been accustomed to under the Merovingians. Formerly the kings were powerless, and the great nobles and prelates imposed what laws pleased them, and these always in their own interests; now they were summoned before a man of overwhelming moral, intellectual, and physical supremacy, who held the vassals at a distance from his throne, made his will to be the law, against which none, they least of

all, might kick ; who allowed to them indeed a voice in council, but who retained to himself the right to act in accordance with, or contrary to, their opinions and wishes.

We can picture to ourselves the great body of dethroned vassals, chafing with resentment, fomenting dissatisfaction, waiting their opportunity, and certain to force on a reaction as soon as the strong arm was withdrawn.

The hierarchy, moreover, though vastly enriched and extended by Charles, were dissatisfied. He had arrogated to himself supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters as well as secular. He had, indeed, given to the bishops the first place in the realm after himself, given them the first place at the diets, invested bishops and abbots with the offices of chancellor and first councillors, had nominated them his *missi*, had given them counties to rule ; but they could not in their consciences admit his right to act to them as a supreme head of the Church, to order them what to teach, to issue to them pastoral letters, and revise for them their Bibles and Breviaries.

Charles had undoubtedly inherited this method of treatment of the Church from the kings before Dagobert, and the Palace mayors after Dagobert. The utterly worldly and indifferent prelates had acquiesced without a murmur ; but Boniface had introduced into Germany the idea that the ultimate appeal should be to the Pope and not to the king, and good and noble as were the bishops appointed by Charles, their very goodness and nobility made them

uneasy at the assumption, which, though tolerable in a man of exceptional character and genius like Charlemagne, was fraught with danger to the Church in any other hands.

Moreover, they knew well by terrible experience that this royal supremacy was mischievous; it was that which had brought the Frank Church to the degradation in which it lay till roused by Boniface. They saw, and they saw rightly, that the power that had been exercised by Charles might, under an unworthy successor, bring the Church back into the same condition of infamy. They must look for some other centre of authority, and where else could they find it but at Rome? Charles had accepted the crown from the hands of the Pope. The successor of S. Peter had given to him the crown and banner, not the staff and the keys—these latter he had assumed. Naturally, inevitably, the bishops turned to Rome as the spiritual power by means of which they might check and control the overweening claims of the sovereign.

The first fifteen years of the reign of Louis passed off without any serious opposition; it was as though the shadow of his father fell over his throne and overawed the turbulent elements that menaced it. But this state of peace could not endure; the constitution of the Frank kingdom, however skilfully ordered it may have been by Charles, however healthy it may have been at core, yet contained in it elements of error, defects certain to produce disruption after a time. When these defects became apparent, then the

great dethroned vassals, and the discontented bishops as well, combined against the crown. Their time had arrived, an infamous conspiracy of the sons against their feeble father was encouraged by the bishops, to their eternal disgrace. Louis was humbled, the dignity of the throne subjected to dishonour, and the whole realm was thrown into anarchy, and riven to its foundations. In the wild turmoil of the times, the hierarchy was careful to assert and maintain its power, its independence, its rights ; and what additional power and independence they were able to obtain for their order in the universal broil, they were careful to assert as normal, and insist on as their due for all times.

There were defects in the Carolingian constitution which came into prominence after the death of Charles. One was this :—formerly the Herr-bann, or Landwehr, was the force of all the manhood raised for the protection of home when menaced. As soon as the danger was past, those called to arms laid them aside and returned to their ploughs. But Charles made of the Herr-bann a regular army, and carried the bread-winners from their families, the farmers from their glebe, to serve under his banners far away from their native lands. So great was the disadvantage to the freemen, owners of their own allodial lands, who were liable to be thus called out, that in tens of thousands of cases they delivered themselves over to the abbots, the bishops, the counts and margraves, to receive their lands back in fee, so as to escape the necessity of following the banner.

Charles issued prohibitions against these *traditiones*; but in vain. The number of freeholders in the realm was enormously reduced; but what was worst of all, the hunger in the abbots and bishops for the goods of the freeholders was whetted so that they left no means untried to force into obedient vassalage those who would not willingly surrender their freedom. And thus in time the whole estate of the freemen disappeared, and there were no other conditions left in the realm, save those of serfs and of noble vassals, or wealthy prelates. There were none left to resist the encroachments of the nobles. All the vast population of independent men had fallen into servitude, lost the right to bear arms, and the king was without any helpers to enable him to resist the nobles. Land and inhabitants, profits and rights, were all in the hands of those who trampled law under foot, and exercised as the only right that of the strongest, the Fist-right, as the Germans call it.

The second defect in the Carolingian constitution consisted in this: the military and civil powers were comprised in the persons of the counts, who had been appointed to rule the provinces in the place of the dukes. This afforded occasion for the counts to exploit their offices to their own advantage, which they were able to do under weak kings, and to free themselves from irksome submission to the throne. They were often planted far away from the sovereign, and all the opportunities of satisfying avarice and ambition were at their command. Was there a bishop near? He was no check; it was a race

between them which should obtain the greatest power, and extend his territories widest, not, perhaps, always on the part of the bishop, out of avarice, but out of fear, lest, should he prove too poor and too weak, the secular noble would deal roughly with him, and wrest from him, also, some of the lands of the see. Crown lands had been given out in fee to the counts; these they transformed into hereditary possessions. The *missi* did not interfere, for they were chosen out of those very secular and clerical classes which were engaged in this unworthy rivalry.

After the death of Charles these evils grew to a head. The whole constitution, as called into existence by him, had been maintained by his strong will as a central pillar, and when he was gone his creation collapsed. It is not our place, nor is it our intention, to give the history of the times, to tell the miserable story of the revolt, the intrigues that took place under the later Carolingians. We must content ourselves with a general aspect of the state of the Church, and the changes that took place in it during the period.

Charles had done all that lay in his power to magnify the Church; he had enriched it beyond what had been done before his days, with the lively confidence that thereby he was increasing its power of doing good, of advancing civilization, and elevating the character and morals of the people. And so long as the bishops were men of his own selection, men of approved virtue, this worked well; but Charles, in his eagerness to put the best men into their

right spheres, had disregarded the old canonical right of election by the clergy and people of the diocese, and thus left in the hands of his successors the means of doing all the harm that had been done previously under the Merovingians. When there was rebellion, the king was forced to repay with ecclesiastical benefices those who had served him, and once more men of greed and ambition, of secular life, of indifference to religion, were placed at the head of the sees. And as the bishops so the clergy. The former did not scruple once more to sell benefices—had they not bought their own with their services? And the simoniacal clergy endeavoured to recoup themselves not only out of their tithe, but by usury among their flock.

According to a decree of Charles two adjoining parishes were provided with one manse (*mansus*). A *mansus* was a farm of moderate size*; but Louis the Pious ordered that each parish priest should have his separate manse. Churches, however, with two, three, and more manses became not uncommon. A collegiate, or cathedral church of smaller size not unusually possessed two hundred or three hundred farms, and a wealthy endowment as many as from three thousand to eight thousand farms. A rich church was equal to a rich county; and, in addition the churches drew the tithes, and sometimes ninths as well. Complaints were loud in the reign of Charles on the growing wealth of the Church; these became louder and more angry in that of Louis. The monas-

* That is, which would support one family and two serfs.

teries were not behindhand with the sees. When this wealth was in good hands, as in those of S. Ansegis, it was well employed in founding libraries, hospitals, schools; but in later times, when the wealth and power of the abbot made his position one to be coveted, then a great many men were appointed over the abbeys, who spent their riches in luxury. A little later still, and half the national revenue was in the hands of the Church, and the Church lands being free from taxation, the burden fell with redoubled weight on the shoulders of the poor.

But the fact that the wealth of the abbeys, collegiate churches and bishoprics was absorbed by men who did not command respect roused a stolid opposition in the minds of the people, which found expression sometimes in satire, sometimes in acts of violence. Moreover, the wealth of the Church drew on it the covetous eyes of the nobles, and they attacked and endeavoured to get possession of some of the lands in the hands of the clergy. The Church was in distress, in each council the complaints of the plundered were raised; but the plunderers were not men disposed to give ear to the canons of councils. In vain were stories spread of the terrible and miraculous judgments that had overtaken men who had laid their hands on the patrimony of the Church: the stories were listened to and disbelieved. The crown was powerless, or at all events the wearer of the crown was powerless to enforce restitution of stolen goods, and to protect against fresh aggression. Two courses were open to the clergy, either they took

up arms themselves in defence of their estates, at the head of their armed followers and vassals, or else they invited some noble to become "Protector" (schirm-vogt) of the see, or the abbey, and he received a certain payment and enjoyed certain privileges for his services. But, as in the fable, when the horse invited the man to mount him to assist him in his feud with the stag, the man once in his seat refused to leave it and to take the bit out of the mouth of the horse, so was it now. These protectors of the Church became masters in its territories, and worried the clerks with their exactions, their lawlessness, and their insolence.

There were a very large number of richly endowed collegiate churches in Germany and the rest of the kingdom of the Franks, to which were attached a large number of clergy. The attempt made by S. Augustine to introduce the monastic life among the clergy attached to large churches had not succeeded generally. It is doubtful if it had been attempted among the Franks ; but if it had, it had failed completely. The canons lived independently of each other, followed their own courses. They made no good use of their revenues, did no active work, neglected study, were free from the obligations of the parochial clergy, and the bishops were themselves too much occupied with worldly concerns to attend to the affairs of the chapters. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, a man who had been elevated to this important see when a layman, but who was full of righteous zeal and the fear of God, undertook to reform the abuse (A.D. 762).

His reformation consisted in this, the reduction of the stipends of the canons to what was necessary for their support, supervision, and active work, and the imposition upon them of certain duties. With the assistance of Louis, some attempt was made to introduce the rule of Chrodegang into all the collegiate churches.

In the great turmoil and general wreckage that ensued when the creation of Charlemagne broke up, a cleavage took place, distinct and permanent, between the Romance West and the Teutonic East. Louis was upheld by the Gallic Franks, his rebellious son, Lothar, by the Teutonic nations east of the Rhine. Gaul was about to become France, and the Teutonic peoples to unite in one Germany, and unhappily for them the proud title of Emperor and King of the Romans was to become the heritage of the sovereign who ruled in Germany, and not of the King of the French.

During the civil broils the hierarchy never swerved from following two ends, and they succeeded completely in gaining what they aimed at.

These points were, first, the limitation of the royal prerogative in all its relations to the Church; secondly, the shifting to Rome of the court of ultimate appeal.

As already pointed out, the supreme authority over the Church claimed by the crown had not worked well at all times; by its nature it could not do so. The state of the Church could not be made to depend on the political exigencies of the king, or on his religious sense of his duties. When there was a good

and strong king, it might and did operate beneficially; when the sovereign was indifferent and feeble, the evil was felt at once through every fibre of the Church's constitution. The best men in the Church felt that this condition was intolerable, and they strove to use the present perplexities and confusion as an occasion for effecting the emancipation of the Church from civil control.

But it was not sufficient to be emancipated when the kings were weak; they must have some principle on which to fall back and assure them against relapse into the same condition, should another Charles Martell, or even Charles the Great, arise, and this principle they found in the papal claim to universal authority over the Church. But how was this claim to be established? It was true that Gregory III. had made a bold inroad into the rights of the sovereign when he appointed Boniface as his legate in Germany and gave him supremacy over the Church there, and it was also true that Charles Martell had not rejected the claim. But Charles the Great had ignored it, and had acted as if it had never been made. The plain unequivocal manner in which Charlemagne had set aside the papal authority, and had not only exercised all that authority over the Church which had been arrogated by the Frank kings before him, but had still further extended it, was a difficulty to be met, and met it was.

Benedict the Levite, of Mainz, forged a series of decrees of Charles and inserted them among the genuine capitulary decrees, and in these new orders

Charles was made to admit and bow before the most astounding claims formulated by the Pope. Now, as a matter of fact, Hadrian I. had advanced such claims in 785, in eighty chapters, which he sent to Angelram, bishop of Metz, who had been accused before a synod and had appealed to the Pope. These chapters Charles either never saw, or deliberately ignored. In the forged capitularies he was made to acknowledge them all. But this was not enough; some further justification for the assumption was required; and now a whole series of papal decrees purporting to have emanated from the twenty earliest popes, from S. Clement to Melchiades, in all ninety-eight decrees, also several unauthentic conciliar canons, were thrust into already existing compilations of papal decrees and canons of councils. Dionysius the Little had made the first collection towards the close of the 4th century. To this compilation others had been added, and this addition was attributed to Isidore Mercator. The object of the forgery was to counteract the oppression and disorder of the clergy, as well as ecclesiastical irregularities generally, the consequence of the political confusion under the successors of the great Charles. These decretals consisted of admonitions, instructions and regulations, compiled for the most part from existing ecclesiastical literature, but thrown back to an early age of Christianity and given the sanction of the names of the first bishops of Rome.* They tended to the

* More was done: As the decrees of the Council of Nicæa did not suit the views of the forger, the audacious compiler falsified them.

exaltation of episcopal dignity, to the securing of the clergy, and in particular the bishops, from attacks; to the limitation of the power of the metropolitans, and in particular, to the enlargement of the privileges of the Roman see. The forgery was done between 829 and 845, and the False Decretals were first published by Archbishop Autcar of Mainz (826–847), and we can be hardly wrong in suspecting that the cunning and unscrupulous hand of Benedict the Levite had to do with the fabrication of these, as well as the falsification of the capitulars.

Those whose position was most affected by the false decretals were, unquestionably, the metropolitans; but the only man among them who spoke out against them was Hincmar of Rheims, and he had not the learning and critical acumen to discover their falsity.* The bishops hated the judicial authority exercised over them by the archbishops and synods, and they gladly seized on an excuse for making their appeal to a far distant judge who was incapacitated from seeing and knowing all the particulars that told against them. The abbots desired to withdraw from under the supervision of the bishops, and they also furthered the ends of the Papal see, for the same selfish and disingenuous motives.

The forgery had been concocted on the Rhine, and in the interests of the German prelates and abbots and clergy; the Roman see, without question,

* He designated the decretals as a mouse-trap in which to catch the unwary metropolitans.

without investigation, without scruple, seized on the fraud, gave it the sanction of its authority, and based the throne of its supremacy on this hollow and rotten substructure of lies and falsifications.

"Here was a whole series of letters and decrees of the popes from the beginning, and the archives of Rome could show no vestige of their having been ever there. There was not present even a tradition of their having existed. Pope Nicolas I. in one year knew nothing of them, in the following, he quoted them authoritatively; and yet one can hardly believe him so sunk in ignorance, so incapable of forming a reasonable judgment, as to think that he quoted them in good faith." They were a fraudulent composition, but they served his purpose, and that sufficed. Nor is it possible to deny that, at least by citing these forgeries without reserve, or hesitation, the Roman pontiffs after Nicolas down to the Reformation, gave their deliberate sanction to a gross historic fraud. The immediate consequence of the publication of the decretals was the complete establishment of the authority of the popes over archbishops and bishops, over kings and churches. "Every one of these papal epistles was a canon of the Church; every future bull therefore rested on the same irrefragable authority, commanded the same implicit obedience." *

In this epoch of rampant self-seeking, there, however, still lingered on some of the fragrance of culture, and taste for literature that had been introduced by the disciples of Alcuin into the German

* Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' bk. v. c. 4.

monasteries. Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, and afterwards Archbishop of Mainz, desired the introduction of the German language into the Church service. He wrote commentaries on the books of Scriptures, and translated homilies into German for the edification of the unlearned in parish churches; also an encyclopædia of knowledge; against Godeschalc he wrote on predestination, and he likewise composed hymns and sacred poems. He died in 856, after having laboured energetically to maintain a decent standard of knowledge, of morality and piety, among his clergy.

His intimate friend was Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt (d. 853), an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and kinsman of the venerable Bede. He was, like Hrabanus, a disciple of Alcuin. He also wrote commentaries on Scriptures, especially on the Sunday gospels for use among the clergy in parishes. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) was a monk of Fulda, and then of Reichenau, a man of liberal views, who, in addition to theological composition, wrote a poem on garden herbs, and verses in honour of the saints. Atfried of Weissemburg composed an evangelical harmony in German, and the Gospel story in verse, which, however, does not possess the poetical merit of the "Heliand." Notker Labeo, of whom more presently, monk of S. Gall, wrote the Psalms in German. He was a musician, poet, astronomer, and mathematician; was read in the Greek and Latin classics, and was also skilled as a physician, and as a painter. Under his direction the school of S. Gall reached its highest

pitch of excellence. He died of the plague in 1022. Rhegino, abbot of Prüm, wrote an universal chronicle; and a Saxon poet, whose name is not known, wrote a poem on the achievements of Charlemagne. Thegan, choir-bishop of Trèves (g. 835), wrote the life of Louis the Pious, and the dissensions of his sons were chronicled by Nithard, the grandson of Charlemagne.

Before passing to another epoch of the Church history of Germany, it is necessary to briefly review the course taken by the Church under the Frank emperors concerning image worship.

In the Council of Frankfort, held in 794, the controversy then raging between east and west, and indeed consuming the vitals of the Eastern Church, relative to the respect due to images, was discussed. The Council of Frankfort rejected the adoration of images with indignation. But Charles was not satisfied with that. In the famous Carolingian Books, probably composed by Alcuin under his direction, certainly issued with his approbation, all worship of images was condemned; not only so, but all acts, such as the burning of lights before, and the kissing of sacred images, are forbidden. On the other hand, Charles was ready to admit pictures and statues into churches as ornaments, and according to the definition of Gregory the Great, as keeping alive the memory of just men. An embassy which Michael Balbus, the Byzantine emperor, sent to Louis and to Rome, led to a further declaration of the Frank Church, in the Synod of Paris (825) against image worship, and accom-

panying this was a censure levelled against the pope' But the pope did not venture to deal as imperiously with the powerful Frank emperor because of the rejection of image worship, as he did with the incapable Emperor of the East. Throughout the 9th century the worship of images continued to be rejected in the Frank empire without Rome excommunicating any one on that account.

X.

THE CHURCH AT THE EXTINCTION OF THE CAROLINGIANS.

The result to the Church of Papal Supremacy—Of the decline of the Royal Power—Abuse of their office by the Archdeacons—The Canons recover their Independence—The parochial Clergy—Enforcement of Celibacy—The Permanency of the Conditions in which the Church was placed—Louis the Child—Hatto of Mainz—The Babenberg feud—Bishop Solomon of Constance—The feud with the Vice-Dukes of Swabia.

WE have seen how that a new element had been introduced into the affairs of the Church, how that the exaggerated pretensions of the Frank kings to overlordship above the Church had tended to drive the Frank bishops to encourage and strengthen the claims of the popes to absolute spiritual monarchy. Then came the forgery of the decretals of the pseudo-Isidore, that clinched their rivets to the chair of S. Peter. The result of this soon became apparent; the independence of the metropolitans, of the synods, was gone—the inner force, that recuperative power which lies in the Divine organization of the Church, as in the human body, was taken from it. Every abuse grew till it became rampant, and the power to remove it had been taken out of the hands of, or had been

freely surrendered by, the hierarchy ; the popes were too much engrossed in their struggles after worldly power to give attention to the spiritual degradation of the national churches. The vast wealth of the hierarchy took from it care for the discharge of its spiritual obligations, and the consciousness that this was so not infrequently found sad expression.

It was one of the great advantages of a synod that in it the best feelings and resolutions of wise and pious prelates found expression, and protest was raised against the growing corruption. But when all constraining power was taken from the metropolitans by the introduction of appeals to Rome, though abuses might be noted, the possibility of redeeming them was gone.

As the royal power declined, so much the more were the bishops drawn within the vortex of political contentions and of secular cares. Men of noble character, men not forgetful of their sacred calling, shuddered at the prospect that opened before them ; but they could do nothing to improve it. On the one hand was the excessive wealth of the Church, luring men utterly unworthy of orders to enter them so as to be able to lay their grasp on the great benefices ; on the other, it was not in their power to exercise authority to correct what was wrong, when those incriminated could always escape punishment by appeal to Rome.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the bad appointments to vacant sees were made by the king ; on the contrary, some of the worst were the result of

free elections by clergy and people. For instance, at Beauvais, a certain Rodulf was so chosen, who could not read Latin. These popular elections gave occasion to intrigue, cabal, and bribery.

The archdeacons gave great scandal, because they were entrusted with the conduct of the courts which formerly, under Charlemagne, had been entrusted to the bishops. The bishops handed their judicial position over to the archdeacons, who, when crimes were brought before them, sentenced to severe penances, and then sold release for heavy coin. What a torrent of corruption thus entered the Church, how this abuse undermined the Divine law of righteousness, and repentance for sins, may well be imagined. It found its culminating point subsequently in the infamies of Tetzel. At this period only the seed of the evil began to show; it took centuries to ripen to a pernicious harvest. We have seen how Chrodegang had reformed the canons of collegiate churches. His reforms Louis the Pious had enforced. All canons were brought to live together in a collegiate building, and to enjoy only so much of the income of the churches as was needful for their sustentation. This was not a condition of affairs to their taste, and they took advantage of the turmoil of the time to undo all that had been done for their reformation. The first chapter to effect this was that of Cologne (873), which wrung from the Archbishop Willibert the concession that they might live, each in his own house, and have full enjoyment of his share of the entire revenue. The archbishop yielded with the

greatest reluctance and with self-reproach. Very speedily all the other chapters followed the example of that of Cologne.

The parish clergy, no doubt, had among them many devout and zealous men, as indeed there were to be found devout and zealous men among the bishops, and among the canons, but they were set in times that were against them. Wherever they turned their eyes they saw only greed after power and after wealth. The popes were involved in struggles to get possession of provinces, and to scrape together wealth, or to assert their authority to give away crowns—these popes hardly put forth a finger to redress the moral and spiritual grievances that were breaking the heart of Christendom. Germany was not so distant but that tidings of the abominations perpetrated in Rome could reach it—the misdeeds of a Stephen, a Sergius, and so forth. If the clergy looked at the bishops, what did they see? Men holding splendid courts, marshalling their forces, seeking their fortunes at court, and caring for their dioceses only so far as they were the sources whence they could draw means for enjoying life. And—who were the parochial clergy? The great bulk of them were drawn from the lowest classes, the sons of small farmers, often even serfs. Very generally the nobles had one of their servants taught Latin, and then had him ordained to act as house chaplain. He was that, and also jester, and did menial work. When the master was tired of him, he gave him a living on his land, and had another serf ordained in his room.

Thegan says, "It was the great weakness of Louis that he did not prevent that worst of usages by which the basest slaves attained the highest dignities of the Church. He followed the fatal example of Jeroboam, who made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places. No sooner have they obtained elevation than they throw off the semblance of humility, give loose rein to their passions, become quarrelsome, evil speaking, ruling men's minds by alternate menaces and flatteries. Their first object is to raise their families from their own servile condition; to some they give a good education, others they contrive to marry into noble families. No one can lead a quiet life who resents their demands and intrigues. Their relatives, thus advanced, treat the older nobles with disdain, and behave with the utmost pride and insolence."

Such was the state of affairs under Louis the Pious; but after his time the lowborn hardly ever attained to the rich benefices. These became the prerogative of the nobles; but serfs and men of no birth entered orders for the supply of the parochial clergy. Such men were by no means to be despised. Where they were good they were doubtless very good, where bad, they were of the worst, boorish and brutal.

A large number of the parochial clergy were married, married openly, and by religious rite, and the struggle to enforce celibacy was tough and long continued in Germany. S. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg,* wrote a letter to the Pope on the subject,

* In Martene and Durand, 'Collectio Amplissima,' i., p. 449.

in which he sharply took him to task for attempting to enforce what was not sanctioned by any single passage in Holy Scripture. The apostle, said he, requires a bishop to be the husband of a wife, and therefore certainly no straiter rule can have been intended for the priesthood. As may well be supposed, the attempt to enforce celibacy on a priesthood under so little discipline, with so little good example to stir it to holiness of life, resulted in infinite corruption of morals.

It has been necessary to enter at some length into the condition of the German Church at this epoch, for to some extent it characterised the condition throughout the later Middle Ages. The German church was given its ineffaceable stamp. By degrees the cities acquired freedom, and citizen life became active, important. The Crown recovered some of its dignity and power, the whole civil life went through vast modifications and expansion; but the mould into which the Church had been run remained unbroken, unaltered in any way, unbroken and unaltered in Catholic Germany even by the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, only to be completely shattered by the strong arm of Napoleon, never again to be restored. Up to this point we have considered the broad principles upon which the Church in Germany was placed, and how they affected her for weal and woe.

There is a difficulty. S. Ulrich's date is 924–973. The letter is supposed to be addressed to Nicolas I., but this is not possible, as Nicolas died in 867. It is not clear to which of the contemporary popes it was addressed.

We have seen how that, under the Merovingians up to Charles Martell, the Church could hardly maintain independence; she was controlled by the Crown, which treated her only as a department of the State. Then S. Boniface introduced a new element; he endeavoured to detach the Church from her dependence on the Crown, and attach her to the chair of S. Peter. Pippin, who had obtained from Pope Zacharias an excuse for dethroning the last of the Merovingians and assuming his crown, did not care to resist the papal claims which had served him so conveniently; but Charles the Great, though crowned and anointed to be Emperor of the West by Pope Leo, was by no means disposed to allow all spiritual authority to be withdrawn from his hands and taken into those of the popes. Whilst he lived, nothing could be done to further the papal assumption. It was otherwise under his feeble successors; then the popes advanced their claims without fear of resistance, and the bishops, anxious for their selfish advantage, some, no doubt, actuated by real desire for the good of religion, favoured these claims. Thus, when the Carolingian dynasty became extinct with Louis the Child, the papal authority over the Church was generally acknowledged, to be used by unscrupulous prelates against the royal authority; and forasmuch as they were temporal, as well as spiritual princes, they were in a position, when it suited their ends, to unite with the king against the pope. Their double position under two masters gave them the fatal advantage of being able to play off one against the other, and as the

prelates were on occasions men of no principle, they were quite ready so to abuse their opportunities. They gravitated to this side or to that, according as they saw advantage to themselves.

The position of the Church thenceforth remained unchanged; it became even more wealthy, more powerful, and that was an aggravation of the evil. The bishops were sovereign princes over large territories, drawing revenues from them, by taxation, by imposts, coining their own money, raising their own armies, waging their own wars, and in their position as territorial princes forgot too often that they were so only because they had been invested with a spiritual charge.

The whole after history of the Church in Germany is but the exemplification of the mischief to religion arising from these causes. Our history therefore will henceforth deal with particulars, mentioning incidents illustrating this condition of affairs which had been brought about, and which remained unchanged.

We will begin with Archbishop Hatto I. of Mainz.

When in 899 King Arnulf died unexpectedly, in the flower of his age, the German realm was left in great difficulties, for the crown fell to his only legitimate son, Louis, a child of seven years. It had been his intention to bequeath the succession to his illegitimate son Zwentibold, whom he had elevated to be Duke of Lorraine, but his purpose was arrested before executed, by death, attributed at the time to poison. The estates of the realm at once elected Louis. In this election the clergy, especially Arch-

bishop Hatto, had great influence; and the regency was entrusted to the archbishop and to Otto, duke of Saxony. It was most important that the realm should be held in firm hands, to prevent Germany from breaking up into her constituent parts. Saxons, Franks, Thuringians, Alemanni (Swabians), Bavarians, and Lorrainers stood over against each other estranged and jealous; as yet not even had the common name of Deutschland (Germany) been extended to embrace the whole Teutonic people. At the heads of these races stood old, richly-estated noble families, in whom the dukedoms, that Charles the Great had suppressed, had been re-established. They had not only retained their own territories, but had laid hands on and drawn into their own power the royal domains situated in their duchies. At the head of a race of ancient nobility, stood Adalbert of Babenberg, son of a duke who had fallen under the walls of Paris, the brother of Poppo, duke of Thuringia. Hatto had raised a creature of his own, Conrad of Rottenburg, to the duchy of Thuringia; Conrad, unable to maintain himself in the stronghold of the Babenbergers, had voluntarily resigned, but carried away with him furious resentment against the rival family. Adalbert, Henry and Adelhardt, sons of Henry of Babenberg, finding themselves thwarted by the archbishop and his party, and pressed from the north by Otto and the Saxons, rose in arms, on the occasion of Rudolf, the brother of Conrad of Rottenburg, supported by Hatto, abusing his authority to lay his hands on a considerable crown fief, to which the

Babenbergers preferred a family claim. Hatto had the ban of the empire proclaimed over Adalbert, who had succeeded in killing Conrad in battle, near Fritzlar. Then an army under Louis, the king, marched against the Babenbergers, Henry and Adelhardt were killed, and Adalbert was closely surrounded in his castle. Hatto now persuaded Adalbert to suffer him to act as intermediary between himself and the king, and for this purpose was admitted into the castle. There he invited Adalbert to accompany him to the king's tent, and solemnly swore that if he would go with him forth from his castle, he would bring him back to it in safety. Adalbert, relying on the oath of the archbishop, accompanied him forth, but no sooner had they crossed the threshold, than Hatto feigned a sudden faintness, and asked to be reconducted within, and given wine and food, as he had eaten nothing that morning. Adalbert at once complied, and when the archbishop had breakfasted, attended him forth once more, and this time into the hostile camp, where he was at once laden with chains and put to death. Hatto mockingly reproached him for his folly in allowing himself to be overreached. He had kept his word literally, though he had broken it in spirit.

Hatto was a man risen from a low origin, through his great abilities, but was hated for his treachery, ambition and rapacity. Under King Arnulf his own citizens had risen in revolt against him, but had been forced to receive him again, by Arnulf, who laid

siege to the city. He died about 913. The story of hard-heartedness, revenged by an army of mice attacking him in a tower on the Rhine, is told of a successor, Hatto II., who died in 970, and was an excellent bishop, but the old hatred against the first who bore the name attached itself to his memory, most unwarrantably.

Another characteristic prelate of the same age was Solomon III., bishop of Constance (891–920); he was a baron of Ramschwag, and was privy councillor to five kings in succession, Louis II., Charles the Fat, Arnulf, Louis III., and Conrad I. He was Provost of Ellwangen, and Abbot of S. Gall, Abbot of Pfäffers and Bishop of Constance. Indeed, at one time he held as many as twelve abbeys and other benefices, which he owed to the favour in which he stood with Archbishop Hatto. He was a man of learning, keenness of intellect, and general abilities; was of majestic and handsome appearance, was courteous to all, hospitable, generous, and pure in life. He kept open table at Constance, and was famed for his eloquence as a preacher. The king, or rather Hatto, who ruled for the king, heaped on him royal manors, and thereby roused the jealousy of a good many, who had been deprived in order that he might be instated in their tenures. Among these were two Vice-Dukes of Swabia. There was then no Duke of Swabia, but the duchy was governed and managed by two brothers, Erkinger and Berthold, whose territory reached to the Lake of Constance. As King Arnulf deprived them of considerable estates on the lake,

which he gave to Solomon, they were dissatisfied, and fell on the Abbey of S. Gall, hoping to find him there, but were disappointed. At his complaint, they were arrested and kept in confinement for some time, till Solomon himself interfered; he petitioned that they might be released, and obtained his request. Thus, for a while, cordiality was apparently restored. But it did not last long. One day the bishop and Erkinger met. With Erkinger was his nephew, and the fiery young man, who had inherited the family quarrel, took the occasion to insult the bishop. Solomon retaliated in a somewhat indecorous fashion. He dressed up one of his cowherds in a suit of mail, armed him with lance and shield, and sent him to the castle of the vice-dukes to ask entertainment as a knight of the imperial retinue. The brothers received him with marked respect, treated him to the best wine their cellars contained, and only found out their mistake when the bishop turned them into the laughing-stock of the country. At this their ire blazed forth into implacable fury. The brothers armed and invaded the lands of the bishop with steel and flame. The bishop called his brother Siegfried of Ramschwag to his aid, appealed to the emperor, summoned his friends, and overwhelmed the unfortunate officers. Berthold's castle was taken, Berthold himself was made prisoner, and carried off to the castle of Hohentwyl. But Bishop Solomon about the same time fell into the hands of Erkinger, who carried him in chains to his castle and delivered him to the custody of his wife Bertha, whilst he

returned to continue his conflict with the retainers of the prelate.

Erkinger's wife, who was by no means pleased with the quarrel, struck off the bishop's chains and set him at liberty, imploring him with tears to forgive her husband and his brother Berthold, and appease the wrath of the emperor against the brothers, when the contest was over. This the bishop promised to do. Berthold also escaped from prison, or was released by the bishop in return for the favour accorded him ; but the brothers were immediately summoned to appear before the imperial diet at Altheim, and were placed under the ban of the empire, were excommunicated, taken and thrown into chains. The judgment was obscured by partiality, as most of the judges were bishops and friends of Solomon. The vice-dukes, however, managed to escape out of prison ; but on the emperor giving them a promise of safe-conduct, they appeared before the diet to appeal against the judgment. However, all the spiritual princes present were on Solomon's side, and the unfortunate brothers were condemned to death as peace-breakers and foes of the Church. They at once claimed the privilege of returning to their homes unmolested, having the emperor's safe-conduct ; but the prelates, headed by the crafty Hatto of Mainz, assured Conrad that his oath to men guilty of sacrilege was void, and should be regarded as of none effect ; and by the order of Conrad I. the unfortunate vice-dukes were beheaded at Oettingen, in 617. This breach of safe-conduct, a stain on

German history, was not repeated till 500 years later, when Huss was burnt at Constance in spite of the safe-conduct given him by the Emperor Sigismund.

This story has been given at some extent, for it tends to show how that even one of the best prelates of his time was involved in quarrels and scandals utterly unworthy of his sacred profession.

XI.

THE MONASTERIES.

The Utility of the Monasteries—The Services they rendered to Culture and Science—The Transcription of Books—The Abbey of S. Gall—Its Scribes—The principal room in S. Gall in the 9th and 10th centuries—Iso—Mœngal—The Song-school—Notker Balbulus—Tutilo—Walram—The abbey Library—The abbey Schools—The outer and the inner Schools—The Trivium and Quadrivium—Service done to Philology.

DURING the 9th and 10th centuries the monasteries were the nurseries of true religion and of science. Here the simplicity and unworldliness of primitive Christianity were to be found; to them fled those whose hearts were of finer mould than the hearts of their contemporaries. At an epoch when violence, licentiousness, and barbarism were rampant, when the Church herself was invaded and dishonoured by self-seeking and pride, the monasteries were refuges to which virtue and love of learning escaped, and where they found shelter. But they were more than asylums; they re-acted on the outer world. They were schools in which the young were trained in piety and knowledge, at least in respect for something better than brute force. At a period when society seemed to fall into general wreck, something more

was needful than an apostle of righteousness lifting his voice in condemnation of evil, here and there—what was needed was institutions which would stand the storms that swept the country, the violence of men, the anarchy, the wantonness of destruction, the dissolution of the old order of society, and which could effect its reconstruction on other bases. The monks of the 9th and 10th centuries were the distributors of that blessing and that light which flow from the Gospel; they were the veritable founders of the culture of the Middle Ages, and the preservers to us of the treasures of Classic antiquity.

Printing was a discovery as yet unmade. There were no other means for multiplying copies of books than transcription, and this may be said to have been the main occupation of the monks. Over the scriptorium of the Abbey of Fulda were written these words:—

"Let him sit here who writes the words of the Father,
Or copies the holy words indited of old by the Spirit!
Let guard be kept on the mind, that nothing frivolous enter,
Nor let the hand be stayed to indulge in frivolous converse;
Busily work at the page, and carefully guard against errors,
That surely the end be reached that from the first was intended!
A work most noble it is, to copy the words of the Scriptures,
To him that writeth aright, reward remains in the heavens."

The monks wrote on parchment only, which they prepared from the skins of wild beasts with such skill that they became almost as fine and white as letter paper. Only those books that were intended for private and constant use were exceptions; these were

often written on parchment neither sound nor clean, full of holes, and stitched together. Sometimes old MSS. were effaced, in order that new works might be written on the old pages. In the monastery library of S. Gall, the most important in Upper Germany, there remain nine of these latter *codices rescripti*, fragments of the Old Testament, the letters of S. Leo, S. Hilary on the Psalms, etc., scraped out, that on them might be written the Homilies of S. Hilary, the life of S. Lucius, the dialogues of S. Gregory the Great, and two dictionaries.

At the beginning of the 9th century the writing was debased by the introduction of many Merovingian and Lombardic characters; but in or about 820 this cursive writing was exchanged everywhere for the Romano-Carolingian characters, which are little different from the Latin letters now in general use in type. When the monks desired to execute a work of great sumptuousness, they stained the parchment purple, and wrote with gold or silver ink, and adorned the initials and the titles richly with gold and with painted symbolic animals.

Let us now imagine ourselves in the scriptorium of an abbey. We see countless hands busily engaged. Some prepare the parchment, others draw lines on the pages, others transcribe, others again illuminate with gold and colour the initials that others have drawn. Again, others compare the transcripts with the originals, and finally some are engaged in binding the completed books in covers of oak boards, almost an inch thick, which are to be overlaid with

ivory, metal, or leather—a laborious work, so that a scribe might, not without reason, exclaim at the conclusion of his book, "Libro completo saltat scriptor pede læto." Students also of the monastery school, who possessed less talent than the others, were engaged in the mechanical work of transcription, or in drawing the lines whereon the letters were to be written. But for works of importance the most skilful hand was always selected, in accordance with the injunction of Charles the Great—"When a book of the Gospels, or a missal has to be copied, then let men of a proper age be chosen, who may write with due correctness and diligence."

Let us now select an abbey from the many in Germany, and illustrate monastic life from what we know of it through a series of valuable writers on the history of their house. We will take that of S. Gall. In this abbey, at the period of which we are now writing, the best hands at caligraphy were Sintram, Folkart, Gotzbert, Waldo, Bernwick, Alfart, and Notker. All these men thought like Notker, who says of himself that he considered it his great duty to enrich the library with all such books as he could get into his hands for the purpose of transcription. Waldo, the Abbot, when he desired to enforce some assertion, was wont to say, "As certain as these fingers of mine can write"; for, adds Ratpert, "He was a famous scribe." Ekkehard, the chronicler, says of Sintram: "All the world on the side of the Alps marvels at the writing of our Sintram, who wrote the Gospel book we possess. It is a wonder how one man could copy

so many books—for his manuscripts are dispersed all over the realm. His writing was very fine, and hardly ever can one find that he made a mistake and was forced to a correction." This Gospel book still exists ; it is the so-called *Evangelium Longum*, and is in golden letters. Another treasure of these times in the library of S. Gall is Folkart's 'Book of Psalms' (liber S. Galli aureus). The beautiful miniatures in fresh colours in many cases still exhibit the influence of classic art ; there is a grace in the forms and in the folds of drapery that show considerable artistic genius. The rich arabesques, and the architectural frames of the miniatures are valuable as giving an insight into the structural forms of a period whose monumental remains are scarce.

In all these books the brilliancy of the gold, and the hues of the colours remain to the present day in such freshness that one might suppose them to have been recently laid on.

It is impossible sufficiently to recognise the debt we owe to the monks for their diligence in transcription of books. The splendid MSS. of the 9th and 10th centuries throw a brilliant light on this age of barbarism. Never did caligraphy reach a higher standard than in the 9th and 10th centuries, and the elegance of the decoration shows a keen sense of the beauty of form. The monks may be said to have handed on the lamp of art to later ages. They did the same for science.

The monks lived a very simple life, and were most abstemious in the matter of food. "Vegetables and

beans were their food, the spring furnished their draught, and the hard earth their bed," as the Vesper hymn says for all the saints of the Benedictine Order. In the year 912, on S. Stephen's Day, King Conrad I. surprised the Abbey of S. Gall with a visit. He was attended by two bishops. He sat down to the mid-day meal with the monks, taking the place of the abbot, and ate of all that was brought to table, after having given strict orders that nothing special should be prepared for him. The monks lamented that the king had not come on the morrow, when they would have had something better to give him than beans and bread.

A brief sketch of some of the principal men in the Monastery of S. Gall will interest, and give us a lively notion of the sort of men who were to be found in all the abbeys of Germany at this period.

Iso was a monk of noble birth, and is said by the chronicler Ekkehard to have been "the most learned man of his time." For some time he was at the head of the monastery school. When his kinsman Count Rudolf, who was made King of Upper Burgundy in 888, asked him of the abbot, the latter consented to yield him up with great reluctance. "Sir," said he, "it is an exalted pleasure to listen to him for only an hour; and all Burgundy and Gaul acknowledge his learning." The abbot, however, required Iso to return to S. Gall at the end of three years, and to revisit the abbey thrice every year during his enforced residence at the Burgundian count's castle. However, Iso died in 871, at the age of forty-two. We have from his

pen an account of the Translation and Canonization of S. Othmar. He was famed for his medical skill, and is said to have performed many wonderful cures of cases of leprosy, cataract, and gout.

At the same time as Iso, lived Mœngal, an Irish monk, at S. Gall. He had gone with an uncle, Mark, a bishop, and his retinue, on pilgrimage to Rome. On their way home, they crossed the Alps, and halted at S. Gall, to visit the tomb of their countryman. Mœngal was so charmed with the life of the monks in the abbey that he resolved to remain there, and persuaded his uncle to do the same. Both gave their horses and their money to the servants who had attended them, and dismissed them to return home without them and report to their kinsfolk where they were. The two Irishmen "were learned in things human and divine," says the chronicler. Both Mœngal and Iso were famous musicians.

In the 8th century a certain Romanus, a singer from Rome, had founded a school of music at S. Gall, and the monastery flattered itself to have preserved the Gregorian melodies in their primitive simplicity. Romanus had brought with him from Italy an antiphonary which was always regarded at S. Gall as a treasure, and an authority. Till the 11th century it was preserved under the altar of the apostles; and it was referred to, not only in the abbey, but appealed to by the song-school at Metz, and indeed throughout Allemania and Burgundy. This antiphonary still exists in the library, though not entire any longer, and is one of the earliest sources we possess for Roman

choral song, and is certainly the purest and most genuine. It contains at present the gradual in its entirety, but the introits, offertories and communions only in part.

This school of music founded by Romanus soon produced men whose fame was in all the churches: as Ekkehard says, "The Church of God, not in Allemania only, but from one sea to the other, was filled with joy and splendour through the hymns and sequences, the tropes and litanies, the songs and melodies, as also through the doctrine that flowed from these men."

In the choir of S. Gall stood thirteen music-desks, on which were as many music-books, and the vaults of the abbey church resounded with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs from some hundred voices, old and young.

The attention devoted to the singing transpires from the regulations impressed on the singers. There was to be no clipping of words, no jabbering of sentences, but the words were to be uttered with gravity and distinctness of utterance.

Under Iso and Mœngal the song-school of S. Gall produced scholars of distinction; chief of which were Ratpert, Notker and Tutilo, who not only continued the tradition of accurate rendering of Gregorian melody, but also greatly enriched the music of their day. There were occasions other than the performance of daily worship for the composition of melody and poem, and such were eagerly seized on by these men.

In 864, under Abbot Grimoald, Bishop Solomon I.

of Constance elevated the relics of S. Othmar, and at his request a litany was composed at S. Gall, as well as suitable hymns. Three years later the church erected to S. Othmar was completed, when the monks attended the translation of the relics singing their new hymns and litany. Not only so, but when, two days later, the Abbot of Kempten and the monks of Reichenau, who had been invited to the solemnity, took their leave, the singers of S. Gall accompanied them from the gates singing in their honour farewell lays composed and set to music by themselves for the occasion. So also, when kings and emperors visited the abbey, they were received and dismissed with songs. In 883 when Charles the Fat, son of Ludwig the German, returning from Italy over the Rhætian Alps, visited S. Gall, the monks and choristers went to meet him singing a greeting in Sapphic strophes. Later, when the Emperor Otho the Great visited S. Gall, the song of welcome composed in his honour by Notker, the physician, so delighted him that he sent for the old blind master of music, embraced him, and insisted on seating him by his own side at table.

In the course of two hundred years there were as many as thirteen monks in the abbey of the name of Notker, but three have been distinguished for their merits and learning—Notker Balbulus, the Stammerer, Notker Physicus, and Notker Labeo, he with thick lips.

First of all, about Notker Balbulus, son of noble parents, the Counts of Kyburg. He was born in 830; he was akin to the race of the Carolingians, through

his father, and, through his mother, allied to the princely house of Saxony. His parents brought him, when quite a child, to the Abbot Grimoald, and he was educated by the musicians Iso and Mœngal, who taught him Latin, Greek, poetry and music. Although afflicted all life with a stammer, he was able to compose and sing his sacred hymns without difficulty. Even when a youth he made his essay, which so gratified his teachers that they encouraged him to proceed. In the preface to his book of Sequences, he says: "As I perceived even in my youth that the earliest melodies were being forgotten, I often considered how I might find a means of preserving and collecting them. Then it fell out that a priest from Gimedion, which was devastated by the Normans, came to us and brought with him his antiphonary. In this I found some verses modulated after the fashion of sequences, but so corrupt, that they did not suit my taste at all. Nevertheless, I was stimulated thereby, and turned my hand to something of the sort, and set a good many tunes to words. When I showed these to my master Iso, he was very pleased, and had consideration for my ignorance, he praised what was good in them, and what he saw was wrong he bade me correct." With these words Notker dedicated his collection of fifty hymns and sequences, to be sung before the Gospel at the mass, to Luitwart, bishop of Vercelli.

It will be understood that what he did was to compose words to early melodies that he had collected, and which had either unsuitable words to them, or words so corrupt in sense as to need re-edition. There

was something wanted to be sung during the production of the Gospel with lights and incense, and the sequence filled this deficiency.

Notker's hymn for Holy Innocents' Day is familiar to us through the translation that has found its way into most modern English hymnaries.

As Notker was a man of truely poetical soul, he was much impressed by incidents common or uncommon that occurred, and some of these gave occasion to two of his most striking compositions. Near the abbey was a mill, the wheel of which, driven by a small stream, worked with a peculiar creak, long drawn and then a rapid clap. As Notker was listening to this one day, the sound aroused him to the composition of his famous hymn, "Sancti Spiritûs adsit nobis gratia," in which the melodious conclusion of each strophe represents the rush of the water out of the buckets of the wheel. When Abbot Ulrich of S. Gall went to Rome in 1215, about the affairs of the emperor, he had this sung before Pope Innocent III., who was delighted with it, called the abbot to him, asked the name of the composer, and praised it warmly. On another occasion, Notker in a walk reached the Martinstobel, a ravine through which the river Goldach rushes boiling and throwing up spray. At the time some workmen were engaged in building a bridge over the chasm, and he saw one walk across the scaffolding balancing himself above the frightful abyss. The feeling that at any moment an accession of giddiness or a false step might precipitate the man to death had such an affect on Notker, that there rose

spontaneously in his soul the wonderful strain, "Mediâ vitâ in morte sumus." "In the midst of life we are in death; of whom may we seek for succour but of Thee?" &c., which has found its way into our Anglican burial service. The song took held of men's minds, and was chanted first in penitential processions, and then in all times of danger; men sang it in storm at sea, they sang it when treading dangerous passes in the Alps. It was sung as a battle chant, and for many centuries remained a popular folk-song. It even passed into the service of superstition, for in a synod at Cologne in 1316, a canon was issued to forbid the singing of it as a charm with intent to take away life. For many years the mid-day chimes of the Abbey of Salmansweiler played the melody, and throughout the diocese of S. Gall it is still sung in many village churches at evening prayer.

Notker was in correspondence with the learned and the lovers of sacred minstrelsy, far and wide. Archbishop Ruodbert of Metz asked him to compose for him some hymns on the life of the protomartyr Stephen. Notker accordingly wrote four, which he sent him with the words, "I, the unworthy Notker, sick and stuttering, full of faults, have with faltering tongue sung the triumph of S. Stephen, at the request of the pious prelate. May Ruodbert, who now in the bloom of youth possesses the heart of an old man, attain to a green old age." Notker's wish was fulfilled; the prelate reigned over his see for thirty-three years. Notker wrote a work on music, "De Musicâ et Symphoniâ," which was known in the 12th century,

but which unfortunately has been lost. But we owe it to Notker that the pneumas of Romanus, which would otherwise have been absolutely unintelligible to us, have had their significance preserved.*

Ekkehard, the Chronicler, describes Notker as "the gentlest of men, always kindly, and with peace in his heart." He died in 912.

Another of this period was Tutilo, regarded as an universal genius, an eloquent preacher, whether in Latin or in German, a sculptor and a painter. He was called to Constance to carve a high altar ; to Metz, to sculpture statues of saints, and there the story circulated that he had been shown a vision of the Blessed Virgin, otherwise no man could have represented her with such supernatual beauty. At S. Gall are preserved two pieces of sculpture by this gifted man, a diptych of ivory, representing on one leaf the Lord in glory, the second the Assumption and two scenes from the life of S. Gall. The style is archaic. But Tutilo was also a poet and musician. He composed tropes. In the 9th century the custom sprang up to expand certain portions of the mass, especially the introit on festivals, with additions and enrichments. These were designated tropes. Probably the tropes had their origin in S. Gall, whence they spread. Certainly Tutilo is the first known composer of those peculiar melodies, which he was wont to accompany on the rote, the seven-stringed psaltery, for he was a

* For the history of the music at S. Gall, see Schubiger : 'Die Sängerschule S. Gallens,' an admirable work, with reproductions of the old music in its various phases.

skilled musician on both stringed and wind instruments, and instructed the young nobles of the outer school in the use of them.

Another man of some note was Walram, who was librarian; we possess two elegies composed by him, dedicated to the Abbot Solomon. But he wrote also greetings to the emperor and other distinguished persons who visited the monastery. In 912 the Emperor Conrad I. visited S. Gall, when he composed and set to music an ode in his honour, in hexameters:—

"Come, worthiest monarch, and visit this cell of S. Gallus!
Under the shelter of Othmar, widely we open our portals,
Lo in this temple of God treasures unnumbered are poured;
See the relics of saints—bodies of saints long departed!"

The emperor spent three whole days at S. Gall, talked with the monks, sat at their table, and ate their food. During the meal the boys dedicated to the cloister read in order passages in Latin from the Holy Scriptures, from a desk set apart for the purpose. As soon as each boy had finished his paragraph, he stepped up to the emperor, who put a gold coin between his lips. When the youngest of the boys, on receiving the coin, spat it out, the emperor laughed, and said, "Ah! I see—you are a thorough monk at heart."

Conrad had come to the abbey at this time in order to attend the feast of the Holy Innocents, when the procession consisted of boys only, and only the boys sang in choir. On the morning of the festival, Conrad strewed the floor with red-cheeked apples where the procession must pass. Then he seated

himself in the choir and watched for the result. The procession advanced, the boy with cross, with the candles held by smaller children, one on each side, the rest of the boys behind, and reached the place where lay the apples. But so good was the discipline of the children, that not only did no single boy stoop and pick up an apple, but not a voice wavered in the song, as though distracted from attention to the psalm by the sight of the tempting fruit. The emperor was so pleased, that he asked for three days' holiday in the year perpetually for the scholars, and also begged that the monks might have something better to eat in the Christmas week than beans.

We have already alluded to Sintram, the beautiful penman; he was so big and fine a man, that the emperor complained to the abbot that he had withdrawn a fellow from military service eminently calculated to do good work with sword and buckler.

To the co-operation of these men was due the compilation of Solomon's Dictionary, an encyclopedic work that contains information on every kind of subject as far as science went in those days, a work for its time of great research and value, which was printed in the 15th century, but which even in that form is of extreme scarcity.

The library of a monastery was called its "armarium" (armoury), because thence the monks drew their weapons for spiritual warfare. In the 8th century the abbey of S. Gall possessed comparatively few books; but the abbots Grimoald and Hartmuot gave to it their own private collections. The first

gave it the Epistles of S. Paul, the Gospels, some books of Homilies, Works of the Fathers, Lives of Saints, a book on Astronomy, another on Medicine, a Virgil, a Chronica Julii Cæsaris, a Life of Charles the Great, another on Ludwig the Pious, one on the History of the Merovingian Kings, and the Epistola Alexandri de situ Indiæ. The abbots had books copied whenever they could borrow them, and money was expended in the purchase of others, so that at length the library contained four hundred volumes, of which several contained two or more works. These comprised Fathers of the Church, ecclesiastical and profane historians, liturgical books, legends, collections of Roman, Allemanic and Salic laws, collections of councils and decrees, poems, grammars, books of medicine, and twenty-six books in Erse and Anglo-Saxon. Of the *libri Scottice scripti*, the Irish works, all are lost but two ; but on the other hand, some others of like nature were acquired later that still exist in the library. In the latter half of the 9th century one of the monks drew up a catalogue which is of great interest. In the margin are notices on the contents, on their value, on the source whence derived. Thus in the margin we find such entries as these : volumen *optimum*, or else *inutile, corruptum ;* or *nil est.* Several of the legends of the saints are commented on as "lies"—"most utter lies." Another book is "given by Charles the King ;" other notes refer to whom they have been lent—"Habet Domna Richard ;" "Duo Luitwardus habet ;" "Ad scholam ;" "Ad Rorbach," etc.

The library of S. Gall increased, so that in 1757 it had swelled to 30,000 volumes, of which 1725 MSS. are still extant.

On high festivals at S. Gall, the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and Paternoster were sung in Greek, so as to familiarise the monks and scholars with Greek. The best students in this tongue went by the title of "Fratres Ellenici."

A word in conclusion on the schools. Of these there were two, the inner and the outer schools. In the plan of the abbey, drawn up by the Abbot Gotzbert in 820, we see the positions of the two schools. Both are symmetrical: "Hoc claustro oblati pulsantibus adsociantur." The pulsantes were the novices. On the plan are seen a court with a cloister running round it, dining-hall, the masters' apartment, the infirmary, all supplied with stoves. The kitchen of the students is separated from the main building by a lane, and near the kitchen is the bath-room, with four baths, and a hearth in the centre of the room. The outer school follows the same plan as the inner school, and is near the abbot's house, with an atrium in the midst divided in the middle into two by a pair of courts, in each of which is a quadrangular *testudo*, i.e. a school-room. Round the court are twelve rooms, furnished with benches and tables, the class-rooms of the teachers. The outer school was for those boys, sons of nobles and others, who were educated at the abbey, but who were to go out unto the world, whereas this inner school was for the boys who had been given by their

parents to the monastery in childhood to be reared as monks.

The course of education in the schools consisted of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music. The first three of these constituted the *Trivium*, the latter the *Quadrivium*, and together they formed the Seven free arts. Under grammar was taught the Latin tongue, to be read, spoken and understood with such perfection, that rarely was a fault made at the daily lections in hall by the scholars appointed to read during meals. The books read in the schools of S. Gall were Homer, Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Lucian, Horace, Statius, also Sallust, Livy, Frontinus, Varro, Juvenal, Terence, Persius, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Sophocles. In poetry, not much was produced, save metrical renderings of the lives of the saints. In dialectic the works used were Aristotle, Plato, Porphyry and Boethius. Of this latter, the Consolatio Philosophiæ was thought much of by the monks, and hardly a monastic library was without one or more copies. In that of Einsiedeln there remain as many as five. Notker Labeo translated Aristotle into German. In the Quadrivium, music, as already said, was taught with great diligence and success. The modern notation was of course unknown, and various signs and strokes and dots, called pneumas, indicated the notes, till Guido of Arezzo introduced the system since adopted with amplifications.

In astromony, which was termed "astrologia," the instruction given was not only on the constellations

and the course of the sun, but actually a telescope was in use at S. Gall in the 9th or 10th century; and in one of the MSS. there preserved is a representation of a monk exploring the heavens through one. The measuring of angles was understood, and the monks constructed a celestial globe, probably the first seen in Germany. The guide in astronomy was chiefly Aratus. Of a terrestrial globe they knew and would know nothing, for they regarded the doctrine of the antipodes as a profane dream of the philosophers or poets.

A great obligation is owed to the monks of S. Gall for their labour in translating so many books into High German; for by so doing they have given to us very valuable means of ascertaining what was the Allemanic tongue at that period. Not only so, but by their composing metrical pieces in it, they have enabled scholars to ascertain the accent, and length of sound on the syllables, and to note how the tongue has changed in the course of ten centuries.

XII.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE SAXON EMPERORS.

The Saxon dynasty—Henry I. refuses to be crowned by the Archbishop of Mainz—Coronation of Otto I.—Transformation of the Monarchy into one aristocratico-monarchical—The Dukes recover power—How the Saxon emperors attempted to limit it—Their reliance on the Church—Investiture—Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn—His rapacity—Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim—Willigis, archbishop of Mainz—The contest over Gandersheim—The Synod of Pöhlde—Writers of the Epoch: Widukind, Dietmar, Roswitha—Cultural advantage of intercourse with Rome.

To the Carolingian House succeeded the Saxon; and the first king of the Germans—or king of the Franks, as he was then styled—out of this house was Henry I., a man of very remarkable character and force. The story of the crown being offered to him when out hawking is late, and not borne out by contemporary historians, who say that he was elected at Fritzlar A.D. 919, when present. When, however, Heriger, archbishop of Mainz, offered to crown and anoint the new king, Henry emphatically refused. "It suffices me," said he, "that I have been elected, and that I bear a title never borne before by a Saxon. Let coronation and unction be given to men more worthy than myself." This speech pleased the people

who swore allegiance; but the clergy looked on with suspicion, for the rebuff was understood to mean that it was not the intention of the king to suffer himself to be dictated to by the great ecclesiastical princes, as had been his predecessor, Louis the Child, and before that Louis the Pious.

Henry, by his tact, by his combined firmness and gentleness, disarmed the dukes of Swabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine, disposed to assume arms against him, and like a wise man he abandoned the dream of a restoration of the Carolingian empire, and contented himself with the consolidation of a German kingdom.

His son Otto I., however, was not contented with having himself crowned king at Aachen, but he also crossed the Alps to receive the crown of emperor from the pope (962), and with his coronation was founded the Holy Roman Empire as united with the German nation. From thenceforth the imperial crown, and with it the highest temporal power in Christendom, fell to the King of the Germans, and every king, on his election, felt himself bound to undertake a journey to Rome, there to receive the imperial unction. With the restoration of the western empire, refounded by Constantine, was bound up the idea that a protectorate over the papacy had been acquired, and not only over the papacy, but over the whole Church, and the very symbols of coronation used served to foster this idea, for the king assumed semi-priestly vestments and the pastoral staff of a chief shepherd.

Under the successors of the great Charles, his feudal monarchy had developed into an aristocratic

monarchical government. With the reinstitution of the dukes, the crown was subjected to extreme danger. The races that constituted the realm clung to their great chiefs with warm attachment, and resented any attempt made to displace them. The ducal title and power had become hereditary, and each duke exercised sovereign authority within his duchy. The election of the king depended on the consent of the dukes, and on their practical support (as they held control over the Herr-bann in their several lands), all his success in war. Consequently the candidates for the crown had to bribe these dukes with promises of enlargement of privileges, which, when granted, left the crown so much the weaker. Whereas the French kings were able, after a struggle, to break the power of the great vassals and establish the supreme authority of the crown, the German sovereigns were hampered in the fulfilment of their proper destiny, on the one side by this incessant drainage of strength into the veins of the great electoral nobles, and on the other by the ever-haunting craving to realize the idle vision of a Western Roman Empire, drawing the kings away from Germany into Italy. The striving of the several dukes after independence was the ever-felt centrifugal force balancing and at times overmastering the centripetal force of the monarchy, and it required a strong will and considerable tact and talent to enable a king to keep this striving of the great vassals under control.

It was the policy of the Ottos to weaken the ducal

powers. They managed to bring the duchies under members of their own family, and though this was achieved by Otto I. (950), yet it exposed him to revolt on the part of the races comprised in the several duchies, who resented being governed by other than their hereditary princes. The opposition encountered was so strong that the attempt was never thoroughly carried out, nor was it one that, even if carried out, could have served its end for more than half a century. The kings limited the powers of the dukes by the appointment of the palatines. These were none other than the old *missi regii*, who were given charge of the royal domains throughout Germany, and with a sort of supervision over the administration of justice by the dukes. Over newly conquered lands margraves were appointed, independent of the dukes, having their own courts, and right of summoning up the Herr-bann. The counts were nominally dependent on the dukes in whose duchies they were planted, but as they were placed over large feudal estates and invested with very considerable power, they served to check the independence of the dukes.

The Saxon emperors, however, relied chiefly on the Church to afford them support against the turbulent elements in the realm. They endowed the bishoprics and abbeys and convents with lands, mines, forests, rights of toll, immunities from taxation, emancipation from many of the charges which weighed on and almost crushed secular estates. The prelates were granted independence of royal courts of law; often

whole districts, entire counties were given to them with complete sovereignty over them. Henry II. went so far as to invest many churches with two and three counties, and the nunnery of Gandersheim was actually endowed by him with seven counties. No doubt that the kings acted thus partly out of piety, but their main motive was to place the bulk of power in the hands of those who by their calling were bound to seek peace and to maintain it. But at the same time the kings claimed and exercised the right of nominating to the sees and abbacies, or at all events of confirming or rejecting the nominees of the chapters.

Moreover, the rapid vacation of their seats by the prelates made it easy for the king to fill them with his own faithful friends. Thus, whilst the dukes, in their private interests, were ever ready to prove recalcitrant, if not to rise up in open revolt, the clergy, taken generally, were disposed to hold with the king. But by thus converting the great abbots, the bishops, and even abbesses into princes of the realm, all feudal obligations were necessarily laid upon them also. The king desired and demanded their help with an armed band. The bishop or abbot on entering on his benefice was required to take oath of allegiance, and was then invested by the king with staff and ring.*

* As example of the way in which the great benefices were filled, this list is instructive. Bruno, son of Henry I., was made Archbishop of Cologne ; Mathilda, daughter of Otto I., Abbess of Quedlinburg ; his son (illegitimate) William, Archbishop of Mainz ; Gerburga, niece of Otto I., Abbess of Gandersheim ;

Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn, was one of the very best prelates of his time, and as we have a valuable contemporary life of him written by a friend, we are able to see what was the stuff of which the bishops of that epoch were made, who were good enough in the popular estimation to be reckoned as saints. S. Meinwerk is included in several calendars as one of the blessed. He was related through his mother to the Saxon house of which Henry I. was the first German king, and he was at school together with Henry II. at Hildesheim. He was made canon of Halberstadt and of Paderborn. When Henry II. offered him the bishopric of Paderborn, he answered scornfully—

"What am I to do with such a beggarly benefice?"

"Enrich it," answered the emperor, "with your family estates."

"You must help me then," said Meinwerk; and he did his utmost to plunder the king.

After he had wrung from him twelve manors, he demanded a thirteenth. "May God forgive you!" exclaimed Henry. "You pillage me unmercifully." When the emperor presented himself at the altar to make his Christmas oblation, Meinwerk repulsed him and refused his offering, demanding the coveted manor, before the whole church, and forced the emperor to yield it up. One day Henry showed him a rich ermine mantle he had got; Meinwerk snatched it from him, and carried it off, saying it was too good

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Bruno, brother of Henry II., Bishop of Augsburg; his half-brother Arnold (illegitimate), Archbishop of Ravenna.

for a king, it must go to the Church. In like manner, when Henry had received a present of a beautifully wrought and enamelled goblet, he showed it to the bishop, who, when he had got it into his hands, refused to return it, but carried it off to the altar, and there consecrated it to sacred usages. The king resolved to be avenged. He persuaded a canon to erase a syllable from a versicle in the bishop's breviary in which he prayed for his church—"Domine, salvum fac famulum tuum," and in the collect, "pro famulis et famulabus tuis:" the bishop accordingly read out a prayer "salvum fac mulum tuum," and prayed "pro mulis et mulabus tuis"—for the mules and she-mules, and was greeted with an indecent outburst of laughter. The bishop in a rage fell on the canon and cudgelled him. Another practical joke was revenged more severely. King Henry caused a Latin scroll to fall from the ceiling into the bishop's plate, informing him he must die in five days. Meinwerk believed the message, ordered his coffin, vested himself in a winding-sheet and prepared for death, when the emperor and his court burst into his room with laughter and informed him of the joke. Meinwerk, greatly embittered, on the next festival when the king presented himself at the cathedral door, met him and laid him under an interdict. The altar candles were extinguished, no mass was said, and the emperor was forced to do open penance, with bare feet, candle in hand, and make over more lands to the Church, before the wrathful prelate would remove the interdict. Meinwerk walled in the city of Paderborn,

and built an episcopal castle there; he took pains to encourage the cathedral school, and died in the odour of sanctity in 1036.

Another bishop of the same period, also regarded as a saint, was Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim. He became bishop in 993, and at the same time Willigis was created Archbishop of Mainz, a man of low birth, but of considerable abilities. He was a wheelwright's son, and since his time Mainz has borne as city-arms a white cart-wheel.* Willigis was entrusted by Otto II. with the education of his son Otto, afterwards the third of that name; and he crowned Henry II. in the Cathedral of Mainz. S. Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, was consecrated by him. Very soon the wealthy Abbey of Gandersheim became a bone of contention between Bernward and Willigis, each claiming jurisdiction over it. Sophia, daughter of Otto II., had made up her mind to take the veil at Gandersheim, with the intention of becoming abbess, and she invited Willigis to perform the ceremony. Ostag was then Bishop of Hildesheim, and he claimed the right to veil nuns in that abbey.

On S. Luke's Day, the day appointed, both Willigis and Ostag appeared on the scene, and a loud and angry altercation ensued in the abbey-church. Suddenly Ostag bade his servants plant his throne in the midst of the apse, and took his seat there. Only

* So the legend. Actually the wheel is found in the Mainz arms in the reign of his predecessor William, son of Duke William of Saxony.

by the intervention of the empress was a riot prevented, and Willigis was authorized to say mass, hold one side of the veil, Ostag the other side, and to complete the ceremony. When, however, it came to the renunciation of the world by Sophia, Ostag demanded of the princess an oath of obedience to the See of Hildesheim, and this, after some hesitation, was taken; and so matters rested, till the quarrel broke out afresh under Bernward. Relying on his influence with the emperor, and inspired with jealousy of Bernward, who was a favourite with Otto, Willigis resolved on reasserting his claim to the abbey, and of thereby at once extending his authority, and insulting and humiliating his young rival.

Sophia was not long in affording him an occasion. She and Abbess Gerburga had allowed the discipline of the convent to become relaxed, and Sophia, though one of the nuns, defied the abbess, left the cloister, and spent from one to two years intriguing with Willigis at Mainz, living in his palace, and in such intimacy with him as to cause great scandal. When these stories reached the ears of Bernward, he remonstrated with her, and urged her to return to Gandersheim. She was furious, renounced all allegiance to him, and transferred it to Willigis. Then, probably, acting on the advice of the latter, she returned to the abbey, where she raised up a party to revolt against Bishop Bernward, and to effect the transfer of the cloister to the jurisdiction of Willigis. The church had been rebuilt, and the Abbess Gerburga, being too

old to act, Sophia took the conduct of affairs into her own hands, and invited Willigis to dedicate the new church. Bernward betook himself to Gandersheim, and was refused admission. He, however, forced his way into the church, celebrated mass there, and sent round the Eulogiæ, or blessed bread (not the Eucharist). The congregation present, gathered from the country around, received it with thankfulness; not so the nuns, who stood scornful and defiant in their stalls; they refused it with signs and expressions of contempt, and even threw it down on the church-floor, with loudly uttered curses on the bishop.* Bernward, ashamed at this indecent conduct, burst into tears, finished mass with broken voice, blessed the congregation, and departed.

Willigis now appeared on the scene, and was met by a party sent by Bernward to remonstrate and state that he had appealed to the Pope. Willigis convoked a synod to meet at Gandersheim, whilst Bernward sped over the Alps to lay his case before Silvester II.

Silvester summoned a synod at Rome; and by the decision of this council it was ordered that another synod should be gathered at Pöhlde, in Saxony, under the presidence of a legate from the Holy See, to decide the question of the rival claims to Gandersheim.

Frederick, the papal legate, arrived on the day appointed at Pöhlde. He was received with anything

* "Oblatas incredibili furore projiciunt, sæva maledicta episcopo ingerunt." (Thankmar.)

but obsequiousness by the Archbishop of Mainz. The legate, on his entrance into the conclave, was greeted with hoots and groans from Willigis and his party. No proper seat was provided for him, and Bernward and the Archbishop of Hamburg had to make room for him between them. It was with difficulty that the storm of curses and yells could be controlled. When at last silence was obtained, the legate urged all present to charity, and presented a letter from the Pope to the Archbishop of Mainz. Willigis refused to touch or look at it. The vicar apostolic then ordered it to be read publicly. It contained a rebuke to the archbishop for his conduct in the matter of Gandersheim. At a signal, the doors of the church where the synod was assembled were thrown open, and the armed retainers of the archbishop burst in, shouting and threatening Bernward and the legate. The conclave broke up in disorder, and was adjourned by the legate till the following day.

The archbishop left the church with insolent contempt, but the legate pursued him, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not attend the conclave next day. The archbishop scornfully ignored the summons, and departed for Mainz at the head of his armed retainers.

Next day the indignant legate pronounced excommunication against Willigis, and then sped back to Rome to report his treatment to the Pope and the Emperor Otto III., who was then in Rome. Willigis, as he had disregarded the summons of the legate,

also disregarded the excommunication launched against him.

At Hildwardshausen was a convent of nuns, under the jurisdiction of Bernward, and he was summoned there to consecrate the church ; but Willigis sent his servants beforehand, and they removed from the church all the altars and sacred vessels, beat the servants of Bernward whom he had sent before him, and prepared by force of arms to forbid the bishop's entry into the church.

Bernward sorrowfully withdrew and went to Gandersheim. Sophia, hearing of his approach, summoned the vassals of the archbishop to her assistance, and when Bernward arrived, he found an armed multitude prepared to dispute his passage.

Before the emperor could return to Germany, and by his presence pacify the unseemly contention, he was cut off, it is said, by poison in Italy ; and in the same manner died Silvester II. Henry II. was now elected and was crowned. In the meantime Gerburga, abbess of Gandersheim, had also died, and Sophia was elected in her room. She at once sent for Willigis to institute her. But now Henry II. determined to use his influence to put an end to the unseemly scandal. Willigis was unable, or unwilling, to provoke the new emperor by further persisting in a claim that was wholly unwarranted, and Gandersheim was recognized as within the jurisdiction of the See of Hildesheim. Willigis died in 1011, and is regarded as a saint : his festival is on February 23. Bernward has greater claims to a place in the

Calendar, and has been formally canonized. His day is October 25.

Among the ecclesiastics who were writers in the epoch of the Saxon emperors, the most important were Widukind, who wrote three books of Saxon history, from 919–973, also Dietmar, bishop of Merseburg, the most important chronicler of the 10th century. He borrowed from Widukind, but continued his history through the reign of Otto II. to 1018. Roswitha, nun of Gandersheim, finding that Ovid, Virgil, and Terence were much read by the nuns, and thinking the reading, at all events of Terence and Ovid's Art of Love, unsuitable, composed several dramas in Latin, turning on Biblical subjects and the martyrdoms of maiden saints. The only known MS. of her compositions remained forgotten till in 1501 Conrad Celtis extracted it from the dust of the convent library of S. Emmeran at Ratisbon, and gave it to the public.

No doubt can be entertained that the abbess Roswitha was both a mistress of Latin composition and also endowed with the poetic gift. Beside her comedies are her epic poems on the "Gesta Othonis" and the history of Gandersheim, both valuable. The works of Roswitha show us that no small amount of culture was to be found in the cloisters of Germany in this century; and this was in a measure due undoubtedly to the intimate relation into which Germany was brought with Italy, through the kings of Germany bearing also the imperial crown, and the constant intercourse maintained on that account with Italy.

Though the wearing of the imperial crown drained the emperors of half their powers, and prevented the unification and consolidation of the German realm, yet it served to keep alive in Teutonic lands an intellectual life which otherwise might not have developed there for many centuries.

XIII.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE FRANK AND HOHENSTAUFFEN EMPERORS.

The policy of Carolingian and Saxon emperors the same—The Church under the various races—The Bishops become princes of the Empire—And military leaders—Simony—The divided authority in the Church—The Popes purposely excite rebellion in Germany—S. Anno, archbishop of Cologne Kidnaps the young prince Henry—Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen—Rapacity of these Prelates—Anno and the Citizens of Cologne—Contest between the Abbot of Fulda and the Bishop of Hildesheim—Arnold, archbishop of Mainz—Murdered—The Abbess Hildegarde—The ecclesiastical provinces of Germany—The foundation of Bamberg—Gregory VII. and the celibacy of the Clergy—Gregory and Investitures—Pilgrimages—The Crusades—The moral result of the encouragement of the Crusades—Massacre of the Jews—Conquest of Sclav races in the East—The Brotherhood of the Sword—The Teutonic Order—Retrospect.

THE Saxon emperors, as we have seen, like the Carolingian dynasty that had preceded them, endeavoured to make the Church a buttress of the throne. Their policy was prudent, as, but for the Church, the Germans would have fallen asunder according to their races and dialects, into small principalities without a link of connection. The dukes, as heads of these races, were in opposition to the kings; the counts resisted the dukes with greater bitterness than they did the emperor, whom they regarded as

their protector against the former, and only resisted him when he attemped to curtail their privileges. But family and national prejudices gave way in the Church, and the bishops felt bound to maintain the imperial authority to save themselves from being swallowed up by the dukes and counts. The Church laboured to consolidate the jarring elements of the constitution into a compact body, and, as a reward, was enriched and protected by the Crown.

The close relation in which emperor and Church stood, the importance of the Church for the maintenance of balance against the lay nobles, was so clearly recognized by the emperors of the Saxon dynasty that, as we have seen, they lavished estates and privileges on bishops and abbots to increase their power, and reduce that of the ducal electors.

This course, which had been adopted in the interests of the empire, by no means conduced to the advantage of religion. The bishops occupying the rank of princes, affected the dress and sports of laymen, and rivalled the dukes in the number of their armed retainers and the splendour of their retinue. In spite of the laws of Charlemagne and his successors, bishops and abbots again appeared in worldly costume, with costly ornaments, hunting, giving magnificent entertainments, and making such a lavish expenditure of the income of their sees as to dazzle and eclipse many a temporal lord. It was by no means uncommon for a bishop to descend from his hunting-horse at his cathedral doors, and enter the sacred building hawk on wrist to attend the sacred

offices; there are even instances on record of bishops booted and spurred, hastily vesting and saying mass.

If the nobles invaded the rights of the sees, the bishops armed and marched to chastise them at the head of their vassals. In the great wars of the empire, or in the feuds of the dukes and counts, the bishops with their hosts took the field to fight for the side with which they sympathized through interest or relationship.

At the imperial diets the bishops outshone the other princes by the magnificence with which their servants were apparelled. This, which was at first an exhibition of the pride of a few bishops, became at last so general that the most saintly and humble prelates were unable to break through the custom, without incurring the suspicion that they were wanting in offering proper respect to the emperor. The worldly life of the bishops was speedily copied by the canons. The stalls were filled with the younger sons of princely houses, who were thus, at expense of the Church, provided with handsome revenues without burdening the inheritance of the eldest son; and when once a chapter was filled with men of high rank, they took care to keep it from invasion by plebeians. It became customary, before the election of a canon, to call for his pedigree, and satisfy the chapter that only the bluest blood flowed in the veins of the canon-elect. The Chapter of Liége at one time consisted of twenty sons of kings and princes.

During the reign of the first Saxon emperors only

the most upright and worthy men were appointed to fill the bishops' sees ; but after that Church discipline had become relaxed under Otto III. and Henry II., mitres fell to the lot of men most undeserving, through favouritism and the influence of women. Matters had come to this pass when Conrad II. ascended the throne. This prince found his exchequer empty, and he adopted the fatal expedient of making the offices of the Church disposable for money. This inaugurated the recrudescence of simony in the empire. It took this form. It was of old a custom for every one who came before the emperor to make him a present. He who desired a bishopric or an abbey offered large sums of money, which the emperor received, and rewarded with presentation to the next vacant throne or abbot's chair. The appointment to both had hitherto been nominally elective, but as the temporal advantages, the possession of the feudal lands, and right to claim the protection of the emperor, could only be given by the emperor, and could be withheld by him from the prelate elected by the chapter who was not conformable to his wishes, the Crown generally nominated, and whom it nominated the chapter submissively elected, precisely as at the present day in England. By degrees the presents were formulated into a table of fees, and each bishopric cost so much, and each abbey cost so much, according to its value. But though this was the beginning of the sale of the higher offices in the Church, lower ones had already been sold ; and to the disgrace of the Church, it must be added, those to inaugurate

simony were the bishops themselves, who, even under Otto III., had exacted fees from the clergy whom they ordained, and archbishops from the bishops they consecrated. This was quite indefensible, whereas the fees given to the kings could be excused as honorariums for investiture in the feudal rights bound up with those ecclesiastical.

Matters of this sort were, however, far worse in France and Italy, where the sale of benefices and orders was carried on with unblushing effrontery, and nowhere worse than in the Papal Court, where every office had its price.

That those who had bought their offices should have looked to them for the enjoyment of the emoluments they brought in, rather than for the duties they involved, is so natural that it became the means of terribly lowering and corrupting the moral tone and influence of the clergy. The dissolution of the morals of the clergy at this period surpassed everything that can be conceived. Not only did some of the wealthy prelates have concubines, but even whole harems. In the synods the most horrible charges were brought against certain of the bishops. Some swore on the Gospel or on sacred relics that they were innocent, and were let go; others were, however, condemned and deposed. The best prelates struggled hard to stem the tide of irreligion which had invaded the ecclesiastical estate, but they met with the most bitter opposition; and abbots who attempted to reform their monks were frequently poisoned, stabbed, or expelled by them.

The spark of strange fire that had been introduced into the German Church by S. Boniface, and had been fanned by the popes, broke into full flagrance when the occasion presented itself for its so doing. The system followed by the Carolingian and Saxon emperors of putting as much power as was possible into the hands of the bishops, as a counterweight to that exercised by the dukes, answered only so long as there was no rivalry for the imperial crown. No sooner, however, did there appear a split in the realm, and a contest break out between rival claimants to the throne, than the bishops threw themselves into opposite camps. The popes had discovered that the pressure of the hand of the emperors, as patricians of Rome, over them, was more than they could endure. Louis the Pious had assumed the right of trying a pope, accused before him of misdemeanour, and the Saxon emperors had asserted the right and exercised the power to dethrone and exalt whom they would to the chair of S. Peter. The popes, to weaken the imperial power, and to occupy the emperors on the other side of the Alps, had recourse to the most unworthy means; they stirred up sons against their fathers, and blessed with their sanction this wicked rebellion; they set up rival emperors, and filled Germany with contending factions; they cast the ban of excommunication over sovereigns, and released their subjects from oaths of allegiance. By their wiles and unscrupulousness they filled Germany with warfare, soaked its fields with blood, and drove back the nascent civilization which had bidden fair to

outstrip that of every other part of Europe. Some bishops sided with the pope, others with the emperor; councils of German prelates assembled, excommunicated and deposed popes, and popes put archbishops and bishops under the ban, and the churches of Germany under interdict. The story of that wretched struggle, renewed again and again, is told in the history of Germany, and need not be here repeated; it is a portion of general history, and one of the saddest portions, covering the papacy with the blot of indelible infamy.

It will suffice here to sketch some of the incidents in this long drawn-out epoch of civil broils, in which the bishops of Germany were involved, incidents that characterize the times and the condition of the Church. Anno, archbishop of Cologne, who is numbered among the saints, was chaplain to Henry III., by him appointed to the important see of Cologne, and invested by him with crosier and ring, 1056. His gratitude was forgotten in the pride of precedence over the haughty Archbishop of Mainz, accorded him by the emperor, and he forgot both gratitude and decency in his rebukes administered to Henry when he came to him for confession, before attending a diet of the empire. Anno even beat the emperor with his fists, slapped his face, and refused to allow him to wear his imperial crown next day, till he had disbursed a large sum of money, which Anno contemptuously scattered among the poor. In 1056 the emperor died, leaving an infant son, Henry, to the care of his wife, Agnes of Poitou, and of Pope Victor

Agnes, left alone at the head of the state, chose Henry, bishop of Augsburg, and Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, as her advisers. She was a pious, cultivated woman, but deficient in the energy requisite for such a position. One aim of her policy was now the reverse of that of the Saxon emperors. She sought to keep the haughty prelates in check by means of the lay princes. Anno of Cologne, and Siegfried of Mainz, with Eckbert margrave of Meissen, resolved, if possible, to wrest the government from the hands of Agnes. The two archbishops were jealous of the Bishop of Augsburg, a good, but proud man, indisposed to win them by bribes. They trumped up a vile accusation against him and the empress, and agitated men's minds with suspicion, to prepare them for the execution of the bold stroke they contemplated.

Agnes was celebrating the feast of Pentecost on the island of Kaiserswerth in the Rhine. The conspirators were also there. After the banquet, the Archbishop of Cologne invited the young prince to inspect a new ship he had lying against the wharf. The boy was easily persuaded on board, when, at a signal, the vessel was cut adrift, and he was carried with rapid strokes of the oars up the river. This treacherous kidnapping of the young king filled all Germany with agitation, and loud demands were made to Anno, that he should restore the king to his rightful guardians; above all others the Bishops of Freisingen and Halberstadt made their voices heard. Anno pacified them by giving to the Bishop of Freisingen

the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and that of Salzburg to the Bishop of Halberstadt. He stopped the mouth of the Duke of Saxony with munificent gifts of land taken from the royal domain ; and, of course, the confederates took good care to reward themselves abundantly. But perhaps the most outrageous incident in the whole of this infamous proceeding was the revengeful murder of the Bishop of Augsburg, whom Anno and his confederates condemned, on notoriously false charges, to a horrible and ignominious death. The young king had acquired such an implacable disgust at his two self-constituted governors, and in reality gaolers, Anno and Siegfried, that they found he was becoming sullenly resolved not to countersign any of the donations they forced on him, to set himself in opposition to their schemes, and to enter into secret correspondence with their enemies. Alarmed lest he should escape them, they sent him to Archbishop Albert of Bremen, a prelate of high birth, great accomplishments, and courteous manners. Archbishop Albert won the favour of the youthful king, who was only too glad to escape the cloistral monotony of the palace of Cologne for the splendid luxury of that of Bremen. Albert, in order to protect himself from the envy of powerful crown vassals, had recourse, like Anno, to bribery. Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz was given, along with several royal estates, the Abbey of Seligenstadt ; Archbishop Anno, who had already managed to appropriate a ninth part of the royal treasure, was further enriched with the Abbeys of Malmedy and Cornelis-Münster. The Duke of

Saxony was given Ratzeburg. The Bishop of Speyer was granted two abbeys, and all the other bishops were given monasteries, lands, and privileges, at the expense of the Crown.

Archbishop Albert, as may be supposed, took care to feather well his own nest. Archbishop Anno had used his time of power to enrich his relations and friends; in defiance of the right of election belonging to chapters, he appointed his brother to the archbishopric of Magdeburg, his nephew Burkhard to the bishopric of Hildesheim, and he gave the sees of Minden and Utrecht to two personal friends. But Albert was too proud to distribute ecclesiastical benefices among his relatives at the cost of the empire. He desired that those whom he enriched should derive their benefits from himself alone. He became extravagant in his ostentation. If he felt a charitable impulse, he gave profusely; on one occasion he presented a beggar with a hundred pounds of silver. At the same time he became violent in his temper, and struck with his fists, sometimes to blood, those—even priests—who offended him.

His extravagance in time exhausted the revenues of the see and of the royal domains, and he had recourse to unworthy means of supplying himself with the means necessary for keeping up his sumptuous state and lavish expenditure. First he ground down his subjects with taxes, and after that sold bishoprics, abbeys, and every office in Church and State.

The pride and avarice of the Archbishop of Bremen had stirred up against him many enemies, and a

conspiracy was formed to oppose and overthrow him, in which Anno of Cologne and Siegfried of Mainz, now become jealous, were members. At a diet at Tribur the king was forced to disgrace the Archbishop of Bremen. The fall of Albert reinstated Anno, who had no sooner resumed power than he appointed his nephew Cuno to the archbishopric of Trèves. As the people of Trèves refused to receive him, Anno sent a body of armed men and the Bishop of Speyer to induct him into the see, but the archbishop elect was waylaid and murdered.

In 1065, Henry had been, at Anno's advice, declared capable of bearing arms. No sooner was his sword girded on, than he drew it jestingly on Anno—an action at once indicative of dislike and levity.

It would carry us too far to follow the miserable discords of the reign of Henry IV., and relate all the treasons, insurrections, and violences of the German bishops against him. His fifty years' reign was passed in contest and bloodshed. He fought sixty-two battles, and in each one of those a prelate was among his opponents. The many opposition kings who started up were all supported by the bishops, who even incited his own son to supplant him. It was in 1104 that Henry, the best-loved and youngest son of the emperor now grown old, instigated by the pope and the prelates, raised his hand against his father. The touching appeals of the emperor to his son being disregarded, Henry IV. put himself at the head of his troops and marched against him ; but the emperor

discovering that he was betrayed by his followers, fled to the Rhineland, where he had numerous adherents.

His son proposed a conference at Coblenz, and to it came the aged emperor, whereupon he was overpowered and shut up in the Castle of Bingen by the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, and the Bishop of Worms, who visited him in his confinement and ordered him to surrender the imperial insignia of Charlemagne. The aged emperor placed them on his own person, and dared the prelates to deprive him of them. But to them nothing was sacred. The crown and mantle of Charlemagne were plucked off him, and they hasted to adorn therewith the rebellious son, at Mainz. The fallen emperor was given into the hands of Gebhard, bishop of Speyer, who took a fiendish pleasure in humbling and tormenting the prostrate monarch, then aged fifty-four. He kept him without sufficient food, so that the emperor was obliged to sell his boots in order to procure bread. Henry IV. had formerly bestowed large benefactions on the see of Speyer, so that the ingratitude was pointedly base. The king entreated that one of the prebendal stalls might furnish him with necessary support, and was refused by the bishop. At length he found means to escape, and took refuge at Liége, where he died. But the animosity of the prelates followed him after death, and they compelled Albert, bishop of Liége, who had buried him, to have his body exhumed and cast into unconsecrated ground.

We have seen a good deal of the doings of Archbishop Anno, but we have not seen by any means all that darkens his character. One incident shall be given to show the manner in which a German prelate could treat his own subjects.

In 1074 Archbishop Anno celebrated Easter at Cologne, and Bishop Frederick of Münster was his guest. On the day of the bishop's departure Anno sent his servants to the Rhine to prepare a vessel for the accommodation of the bishop. The servants took the ship of a rich merchant, and ordered the sailors to unlade it of all the wares. The sailors refused, and the merchant's son, a bold young man, much esteemed in Cologne for his excellent qualities, called his friends to his assistance, and drove off the archbishop's servants and the town constable, who had been summoned to their assistance. The constable called out the mercenaries, and there would have been a bloody skirmish had not the archbishop threatened with his ban whoever broke peace. Anno was far too haughty to bear with equanimity the refusal of the vessel to his servants. On the ensuing feast of S. George he ascended the pulpit and rebuked in most violent terms the audacity of the city in denying him the vessel, and declared that if the citizens did not do penance therefor, they would become the prey of Satan and all his devils. The merchant's son, who was present during the sermon, was highly incensed. He hurried to his friends, stirred up the people, reminded them of the citizens of Worms, who, without being as powerful and

wealthy as those of Cologne, had driven away their bishop when he had taken part against the emperor, and urged the good folk of Cologne to do the same. Many young men, apprentices and sons of merchants, joined him, and attacked the archbishop's palace, where, at the moment, Anno was banqueting with the Bishop of Münster and his friends. The mob broke the windows, penetrated into the courtyard, and threw stones into the hall. The servants of the archbishop were killed or driven back.

Whilst the Cologne mob was storming the palace, the servants of the bishops conveyed the two prelates by a secret passage into the cathedral, and locked and barricaded the doors. A moment after the mob burst into the palace, and sacked it from the attic to the cellars. Some stove in the barrels and let the rich wine flow away; others carried off all the costly goods they could lay hands on. Such an abundance of wine was let out that the cellar was flooded, and several men were drowned in it. A servant, mistaken for the archbishop in the scuffle, was murdered; but when it was discovered that the archbishop had taken refuge in the cathedral, the people streamed towards it, surrounded it, and threatened to fire it unless the obnoxious prelate were given up. But the night was far spent, and Anno took advantage of the darkness to disguise himself in a lay dress, and to escape out of the cathedral and take refuge in the house of one of his servants, to whom he had shortly before accorded permission to break a doorway through the city walls from his house, which was built against

them. Through the door he fled from the town and escaped to Neuss. In the meantime, the rioters were storming the minster, and breaking open the doors with sledge-hammers. The servants within pretended that they were searching for the prelate but could not find him, and when they felt satisfied that he was safe, they threw open the door, and the mob rushed in to seek him themselves.

After the people found that the archbishop was not there, they locked the city gates, and sent a deputation to the emperor, who was then quarrelling with Anno, to inform him that they had been forced to maintain the honour of their city against the archbishop, and that they requested Henry to take possession of Cologne.

But the news had spread through all the electorate, and the peasants, who had a great veneration for the sanctity and liberality of their archbishop, rose in his support against the citizens, with whom there had been a long-standing jealousy. Anno soon found himself at the head of an army, and he at once marched against his capital. The citizens, alarmed at the promptitude and power of the prelate, sent an embassy to him, asking pardon and promising amendment. The archbishop answered that he would not withhold forgiveness. He sang a High Mass at S. Gereon's, which was then outside the city walls, and after it ordered as a preliminary that all those who had taken part in the insurrection should be put to penance. They accordingly appeared before him barefoot, in white sheets, and he had the

greatest difficulty to restrain the peasants from falling upon them. He then commanded all to appear the next day in S. Peter's Church, and hear his ultimate decision. The night he spent in prayer in S. Gereon's Church.

The citizens of Cologne were not at ease, for clemency was not a distinguished feature in his saintly character, and during the night six hundred of the wealthiest burghers fled for protection to the emperor. In the meantime, the servants of Anno entered the city, and pillaged the houses and murdered the citizens who resisted them; but this was without Anno's knowledge, he was busy praying among the bones of the Theban martyrs, and knew nothing of what was taking place among his living subjects.

Anno's final judgment, after long prayer, was that the young merchant and many of his companions should have their eyes plucked out, that many others should be publicly whipped, and that others should be expelled the city. All who remained in the town were to take oaths of allegiance to the archbishop.

Although the people of Cologne were certainly guilty of insurrection, yet unquestionably Anno was to blame for forcing them to it, and his savage reprisals led to most disastrous results. The city, which, like Mainz, had been the most populous and wealthiest of the German cities, was suddenly reduced to desolation. The streets were empty, the houses fell into ruin, and the markets were deserted.

With what bloody severity Anno administered

justice may be gathered from another instance. A widow complained to him that the magistrates had given wrong judgment against her. The archbishop summoned the magistrates before him to Siegburg, where he held his court, and finding that the widow's appeal was just, he had all the magistrates blinded except one who was his kinsman. There were seven whose eyes were plucked out; and by the archbishop's orders stone heads without eyes were built into the walls of their houses as a witness to all the town of his uncompromising love of justice.

Under the Saxon emperors we have seen a fierce contest rage between the Archbishop of Mainz and the Bishop of Hildesheim for rights over the Abbey of Gandersheim; a hardly less scandalous contest broke out under Henry IV. between the Bishop of Hildesheim and the Abbot of Fulda relative to precedence.

The Abbey of Fulda, founded by S. Boniface, as a famous school, was endowed above every other religious house in Germany. It also possessed the privilege of seating its abbot next after the Archbishop of Mainz in the imperial diet.

When King Henry IV. celebrated Christmas at Goslar, in 1062, Bishop Hezelo of Hildesheim insisted on asserting his right to the second place, as Goslar was in his diocese; and when the seats were arranged for Vespers in the great church, his servants and those of the Abbot of Fulda were engaged in hot contest about it, so that it was only with difficulty that Duke Otto of Bavaria was able to quell the tumult, when it

had passed from words to blows. On this occasion the Abbot of Fulda secured his precedence.

But the Bishop of Hildesheim was too proud and powerful a prelate to rest satisfied with his defeat. On the following Whitsuntide the emperor summoned a diet at Goslar, and the bishop prepared to assert his right by force of arms. Before Vespers he secreted an armed body of retainers behind the high altar, and by bribery and flattery obtained the promise of support from Count Eckbert of Brunswick, the kinsman and favourite of the emperor.

When the servants of the abbot placed his stool next to that of the Archbishop of Mainz, it was plucked away by those of the Bishop of Hildesheim, and when the abbot's chamberlains replaced it, the servants of the bishop shouted for help, and the party in concealment rushed forth from behind the altar, fell upon the domestics of the abbot, and beat them out of the church. The retainers of the abbot thereupon assembled in great numbers, armed, and burst into the church. A furious fight ensued. The sacred walls rang with the shouts of the combatants and the cries of the dying. The Bishop of Hildesheim mounted the pulpit to animate his servants to the contest, and promise them absolution for the desecration of the House of God.

In vain did several of the princes of the empire enter the church to endeavour to allay the fury of the combatants; the emperor himself went in and ordered peace to be observed, but the bishop was still screaming to his men from the pulpit, swords and

cudgels were still being brandished, and the attendants of the king with difficulty drew him out of the *mêlée* without receiving injury from one or other party.

At length, when the pavement of the church was strewn with corpses, and the blood flowed from the doors in streams, the Fulda party gave way and were driven forth. Then the Hildesheimers closed the gates. The Fulda folk summoned assistance, and encircling the minster, prepared to besiege it, or to fall on and massacre the Hildesheimers as they left the church.

On the following day tranquillity was established by the king and his princes by force of arms; and as the bishop was favoured by the Duke of Brunswick, all the blame was laid on the Abbot of Fulda.

The king was desirous of letting the quarrel blow over, and of effecting a reconciliation, or if he must judge the abbot, of only lightly punishing him, though the abbot was far less to blame than the bishop. This, however, did not suit the vindictive temper of Hezelo of Hildesheim, who excommunicated all the dead and living adherents of the abbot who had been mixed up in the fray, and forced the abbot to pay such exorbitant fines in compensation for the servants killed on his side, that the wealthiest German abbey sank into the direst poverty.

Nor were the troubles of Abbot Widerad yet at an end. His scrupulous discipline and the reduction of diet in the monastery, rendered necessary by the poverty into which it had fallen, kindled the resentment of a large party of his monks, who,

when they found that their abbot was out of favour with the king, spread over the country venting their spite against him in malicious words. The abbot vainly endeavoured to bring the turbulent brothers to reason: they would listen to none in their exasperation at the loss of the wealth of the monastery through his means. He implored them with tears to consider their duty and his own necessity. They marched forth headed by a cross, chanting, one day when the abbot was at an imperial diet, and entering the royal hall, complained of their superior to the king. Their conduct, however, caused such indignation that they were sharply reprimanded and ordered back to their cloisters, attended by a body of troopers to keep them in order.

On the return of the abbot he tried the insurgents, ordered the ringleaders to be scourged and dismissed from the monastery, and the rest to be scattered through different houses of the same order in Germany.

We will take one more instance of the character and conduct of a great prelate; this time a hundred years later.

In the middle of the 12th century Henry I. was Archbishop of Mainz. He had been dean of the cathedral, and was invested with the archbishopric in 1142. He was an amiable, peace-loving, but feeble prince, who ran counter to many of the usages of the time, and had not the worldly wisdom to keep the powerful Rhenish Electorate from embroilments, nor the skill to disentangle himself when he had fallen into them.

His feebleness of rule created a strong party in the city and the chapter opposed to him, and they collected numerous charges against him, which they laid before the Pope, in hopes of obtaining his deposition. It was only too well known that money, not right, won the decision of Rome, and Henry was obliged to collect a large sum, and send it to the Pope to buy his exculpation. He chose his confidential friend, Arnold of Selnhofen, provost of S. Peter's, to take the bribe to Rome and plead his cause. Arnold made the most solemn assurances of fidelity, and departed on his mission. He first opened communications with Frederick I., and then going to Rome, brought additional charges against his friend, the archbishop, and used the money entrusted to him to purchase the see for himself. The Pope promised to give him the archbishopric of Mainz, and then, to lend a semblance of justice to the transaction, sent two cardinals into Germany to investigate the charges against the archbishop. As might have been anticipated, they decided against him, and pronounced his deposition.

When the unfortunate prelate heard the sentence, he exclaimed, "I might appeal from your judgment to that of the Pope, but what would that avail? Therefore I appeal to a righteous Judge, to Jesus Christ, and I summon you before His judgment-seat." The cardinals scoffingly answered, "Go forward yourself, and we will follow." If we may believe the story, the two cardinals died within the year. Certain it is that the archbishop, who was deposed

on June 7, 1153, died on the 5th September following. A saying of his was remembered, "Fui dives canonicus, pauper præpositus, mendicus episcopus."

Arnold of Selnhofen was appointed to the see by the Pope himself, and was not elected by the chapter, and the Pope invested him the same day that his friend whom he had betrayed was degraded. The citizens received him with impatience and resentment, for they had learned to love his gentle predecessor.

He speedily gave token of pride the most intolerable. His court was magnificent, his servants were splendidly bedecked, and his table was noted for its luxury. Though he belonged to a patrician family in Mainz, he treated the citizens with unbending pride, and offended, by his discourtesy, the nobles who held fiefs of the archbishopric. He quarrelled with the neighbouring princes, and warred against Hermann, Count Palatine of the Rhine. The contest was long and bloody ; and as he was unable by force of arms to reduce his powerful opponent, he excommunicated him. The palatine revenged himself by making an inroad into the territories of the Elector of Mainz, and devouring all before him with fire and sword.

Before this contest broke out, the Emperor Frederick, who had gone to Italy, had ordered the preservation of public tranquillity, but as the archbishop and the palatine had transgressed his command, he ordered both the combatants on his return to appear before him to answer for their conduct. The palatine and his allies were condemned to

undergo the shameful sentence of carrying a dog attached to their necks. The archbishop only escaped undergoing the same sentence because he was an ecclesiastic, but his knights and vassals were obliged to submit to it. The count palatine so bitterly felt the ignominy that he retired to a monastery, and the emperor bestowed the palatinate on his brother Conrad.

The humiliation that the vassals of the archbishop had undergone rankled in their breasts, and made them restless under his rule. The cost of the war and of his extravagant court was supported by heavy taxation, and when, on the occasion of his making a journey to Rome, he laid another tax on the electorate to defray his expenses, the subjects could endure it no longer. The Patrician Mengott, Burkhard, provost of S. Peter's, and the Abbot Gottfried of Jakobsberg formed a conspiracy against him, and sent a deputation consisting of Emmerich, the son of Mengott, and the Abbot Gottfried, to the emperor to lodge formal complaint against the archbishop. They were driven away with disgrace, and the exasperation of the inhabitants of Mainz against Arnold reached its climax.

The archbishop, who had by this time returned from Italy, found that his life was not secure in Mainz. The citizens had closed their gates against him when he appeared before them after his expedition to Italy, and later, when he held a synod in Mainz, an armed body of citizens broke into the archiepiscopal palace to capture the prelate, but

Arnold escaped by boat with difficulty. His palace was set on fire, and the houses of all the clergy of his party were pillaged. Even the cathedral was not spared. To quell this insurrection, on the appeal of Arnold, the Emperor Frederick summoned a diet, in which he might hear the complaints on each side. The diet condemned the ringleaders to death, but the emperor softened the sentence, and, at the request of Arnold of Selnhofen, required the citizens to purify and repair the cathedral, rebuild the palace, and restore every damage that had been done. The heads of the conspiracy were banished Mainz. Before they departed, the conspirators exhorted the burghers to submit to the decision of the emperor, and to wait for their revenge till a more propitious moment. They then ostentatiously departed, but secretly returned, and were concealed by the citizens in their houses.

At this time there lived in the convent of Bingen the saintly Abbess Hildegarde, whose prophecies and exhortations throw no small light on the condition of the Church and Empire in her day. She was universally respected, and was looked up to with something of the reverential awe wherewith the ancient heathen Germans had venerated their spae-women.

A letter was brought to Arnold from the prophetess. It contained the message, curt and startling, "Turn to the Lord, for thy time is at hand."

A friend of the archbishop, the Abbot of Erbach, also cautioned him that danger was in the wind.

"They are dogs, are these Mainzer," answered Arnold; "they bark, but they do not bite."

When Hildegarde heard this, she said, "The dogs have had their chains broken, they will tear you to pieces." But Arnold scorned these warnings, and in June, 1160, went to Mainz, with the purpose of bringing the turbulent burghers into more complete subjection. However, he took the precaution of sleeping in the monastery of Jakobsberg outside the city walls, instead of in his palace near the cathedral. His own private family mansion was close to the monastery, so that he thought himself in perfect security. But he had rushed, unwittingly, into the jaws of the lion, for the Abbot of S. Jakob was his bitterest enemy, and was in close league with the citizens. His infatuation is the more remarkable, as the abbot had prominently taken part against him in the deputation to the emperor. The abbot watched the archbishop as a cat watches a mouse, and sent tidings of all his movements into the city. Early in the morning of June the 10th, a large party of armed conspirators marched out at the city gate headed by Emmerich, the son of Mengott, and noiselessly surrounded the abbey.

But Dudo of Selnhofen, the brother of the archbishop, heard the tramp of feet, and hastened to the abbey to give Arnold the alarm, and make him take refuge in flight. The archbishop was paralysed with fear; as cowardly in danger as he had been presumptuous in security, he lost all self-possession, and at one moment vowed he would resign his office, and end his

days under the cowl of a monk, at the next he urged his servants to resist the citizens by force, and then flew up a tower and fastened himself in, whilst his retainers bravely contested every step with the conspirators. The citizens had broken open the abbey gates, and were throwing stones and lighted torches in at the windows. The servants of the archbishop were cut down in the cloisters, and the crowd, pouring in, broke into every cell in quest of the obnoxious prelate. When he was in their hands, the furious burghers maltreated him cruelly. A citizen named Heliger stabbed him with a dagger ; another, Bunger, a butcher, split his head with an axe. The dead body was hideously mangled with the hatchets, swords, and knives of the enraged citizens, and was then cast into a ditch. Nor was it suffered to remain there unmolested. The citizens refused to allow it to be buried, and the peasant-women, coming to market from the neighbouring villages, pelted it with rotten eggs and bad cheese. Some days elapsed before the canons of the Liebfrau Church could venture to remove and bury the corpse. By this time the conspirators had come to their senses, and were aware that such an outrage as theirs could not be passed over with impunity. The only way in which to escape the chastisement of the emperor was to proceed with the utmost rapidity to the election of a new archbishop. Their choice fell on Rudolf, duke of Zähringen, because he was at that time in opposition to the emperor, who had quarrelled with the Pope, and they hoped in Rudolf to obtain an advocate

at the Court of Rome. To support his claim, and purchase friends in the Roman court, the citizens carried off a large piece of the gold cross, weighing 600 pounds, which Archbishop S. Willigis had given to the cathedral. But the Pope refused to acknowledge the election. The gold was not, however, returned to the cathedral. The Emperor Frederick I., who in the meantime had heard of the insurrection and murder, summoned a diet at Erfurt. The conspirators took the alarm and fled. The butcher Bunger alone was caught, and was cruelly put to death. The diet proclaimed the ban of the Empire against the city, the abbot of Jakobsberg was placed under ban, and the monks were condemned to imprisonment. The walls and towers of the city were thrown down, and all the liberties of the town were abolished. Half the citizens had fled, those who remained were powerless to protect themselves. They were probably guiltless, but on them the ban fell also. All manufactures and commerce came to an end, and wolves are said to have found their way into the desolate streets.

The ecclesiastical divisions of Germany remained much the same from the 11th to the 16th century. They were these. The province of Cologne embraced not only the Rhenish lowlands as far as Xanten, but also Friesland, Holland, Westphalia, and Brabant. The suffragans were Münster, Liége, Minden, Osnabrück, Utrecht, and Bremen, till in 858 Pope Nicolas I. united Bremen to the metropolitan see of Hamburg. The formal transfer of the archiepiscopal seat from

Hamburg to Bremen did not, however, take place till 1223; but the dioceses were always held together.

The province of Mainz extended from the Alps to the Weser. In 748 Pope Zacharias gave to the Church of Mainz metropolitan authority over Tongern, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, and Utrecht; but Pope John XXII., granted Mainz fourteen suffragans, Augsburg, Chur, Constance, Eichstädt, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Olmütz, Paderborn, Prague, Speyer, Strasburg, Verdun, Worms, and Würzburg. Of these it lost Olmütz and Prague in 1343, when the latter was raised to be a metropolitan see. The province of Trèves was comparatively small; it ran like a wedge in between Cologne and Mainz, crossed the Rhine, and included Hesse. The bishops appear as metropolitans from the 6th century. Under Trèves were Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The province of Salzburg was constituted in 798 by Pope Leo III. At the close of the 15th century it numbered as suffragans Brixen, since 798; Chiemsee, since 1215; Freising, since 724; Gurk, since 1070; Passau, since 737; Ratisbon, since 697; Seckau, since 1218; and Lavant, since 1221.

The province of Bremen-Hamburg had jurisdiction over the Scandinavian north, Schleswig, Denmark, and Norway. The province of Magdeburg was founded by Otto I. In 970 the Pope gave the archbishop equal rights with the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trèves. The suffragans under Magdeburg were Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Merseburg, Posen, and Zeitz.

The province of Gnesen appears about 1000, with under it as suffragans, Breslau, Colberg, Camin, Cujavien, Cracau, Lebus; in 1133 it passed under Magdeburg, but only temporarily. The archbishops of Gnesen were *legati nati* of the Holy See. The population were almost wholly Sclavonic,—Pomeranians and Poles.

In 1007, the Emperor, Henry II., founded the diocese of Bamberg; it was independent of all archiepiscopal jurisdiction from the first, and placed immediately under the Holy See. The first bishop was Eberhard, a nephew of the founder, and his successor was Suidger, afterwards Pope Clement II.

The question of the celibacy of the clergy had been suffered to sleep after the effort made to promote it in the 10th century. When Hildebrand, in 1073, placed the tiara on his own brows under the name of Gregory VII., it was with the deliberate determination to enforce celibacy with all the powers at his command, and hardly was he settled in his throne than he began the struggle. He commanded Siegfried of Mainz to summon a council in which to take measures for the carrying into effect of his stern and peremptory decrees relative to the married clergy. Siegfried, who knew the state of feeling on this head, shrank from the task imposed on him, and it was not till he was formally threatened with the papal censure that he consented to promulgate the decree of Gregory. He did not summon at once the clergy to put away their wives—he gave them six months' delay for consideration. Then the synod met, at Erfurt. The partisans

of the married clergy assembled in prevailing numbers. "The Pope," they exclaimed, "must be a heretic and a madman. Has he forgotten the saying of the Lord? Forgotten the words of S. Paul?" Siegfried was unable to disguise the reluctance with which he acted; there was a tumult, he feared for his life, and promised to remonstrate with the Pope, so only did he pacify the angry passions that had been roused. But Gregory was not to be moved to turn from his purpose. By his command a second synod was called at Mainz. The papal legate was present; he displayed the mandate of the apostolic see, requiring all bishops in their sees to compel the priests to put away their wives, or to desist from their sacred ministry. The whole assembly rose; so resolute was their language, so fierce their gestures, that again the archbishop trembled for his life. He declared that he would no longer meddle in such matters, but leave the Pope to execute his own decrees as best he might.

At Passau, Bishop Altman had already interdicted the married clergy from the altar. When he read the papal brief in his cathedral, the whole congregation rose in uproar, and he was compelled to fly his diocese, expelled by his chapter. Gregory rewarded him by placing his own mitre on his head at Rome.

With some of the married clergy there was undoubtedly a misgiving that they were living in a condition of life not allowed by the Church; but with others there was, with equal certainty, a conviction that the marriage union was not against Scripture, not condemned by our Lord, the great Head of the Church,

nor by the usages of primitive Christianity. Where the mandate of the Pope was enforced, it caused unspeakable misery. The unhappy women, condemned to be cast forth as harlots, their children bastardised, died in their beds of broken hearts, perished of starvation, and even by their own hands. But in the German dioceses the command was not rigidly enforced; the bishops saw in it only a convenient instrument for exacting money from their clergy. Strict inquiry was indeed made annually as to the morals of the parochial pastors, and if they kept in their houses wives or concubines, they were condemned to pay an annual tax for the privilege, which went into the episcopal exchequer.

Another conflict engaged in by Hildebrand was that which concerned investitures. It had been customary for the king, when he conferred a benefice on a bishop or abbot, to give him ring and staff, as tokens of enfeofment. The Carolingian monarchs had undoubtedly assumed an ecclesiastical headship over the Church beyond that which was legitimate, but the later emperors made no such assumption. The investiture was intended simply to mark that those invested were subject in things temporal to the sovereign. Gregory VII., however, supposed, or pretended to suppose, that it implied a great deal more, and a desperate struggle was entered on between the chair of S. Peter and the thrones, not only in Germany, but elsewhere in Europe, for the abrogation of investiture by the kings. In a council held at Rome in 1075, Gregory brushed away by one

decree the whole right of investiture by the temporal sovereign. It deposed every abbot, bishop, or inferior ecclesiastic who should receive investiture from any layman. It interdicted him who had so been granted his benefice from all communion with the apostolic see, until he should have resigned his benefice, and received it again from the Supreme Pontiff. And if any emperor, duke, or secular potentate should presume to grant such investiture, he was condemned to excommunication. This statute made, and was designed to make, a revolution in the positions of the great prelates. It annulled the power exercised by the sovereign over almost one-half of his subjects. All the bishops and abbots, who were at the same time temporal princes, and who were the leaders in the diets and national assemblies, became, to a large extent, independent of the crown; and every benefice thus severed from the crown was held thenceforth at the pleasure of the Pope. No wonder that the kings of Germany stubbornly resisted this innovation. The contest raged with bitterness on both sides till 1128, through half a century, producing untold violences. A compromise was reached in the diet of Worms in 1122, and finally ratified in Rome in 1128. By this concordat, the emperor surrendered the form of investiture with ring and staff, and granted to the clergy throughout the empire the right of free election of their bishops; the Pope, on the other hand, allowed that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the emperor or his commissioners, and that the bishop elect should receive, by

the touch of the sceptre, all the temporal rights and possessions of the see, and should undertake faithfully to discharge to the emperor all duties incident on his position as a prince.

When, at the close of the 10th century, the belief spread that with the year one thousand from the birth of Christ, the Saviour would return in glory and hold judgment at Jerusalem, men became filled with pangs of sorrow for their sins, and with a restless desire to visit Jerusalem, and there await the coming of the Lord. When, however, the year passed away without this great event, the desire to make a visit to the Holy Land had already roused a love of adventure in the minds of many, that became a wide-spread all-embracing passion. In 1074 Archbishop Siegfried of of Mainz, the tall and extraordinarily handsome Gunther, bishop of Bamberg, and the Bishops of Ratisbon and Utrecht placed themselves at the head of seven thousand pilgrims for the Holy Land. It was hardly piety that impelled them. Siegfried was a haughty, ostentatious, and unprincipled man. Moreover, the pilgrimage was not conducted in the spirit of humility and penance. On their way through Bohemia the prelates displayed all the lavish splendour of the most wealthy princes. When they halted for the night, the chambers were prepared for them by their servants with rich tapestries, and their tables were spread with gold and silver vessels. The people of the countries they traversed came in crowds to see these gorgeous prelates. Their wealth attracted the covetousness of the hordes that ranged over Syria,

and on Easter Eve they were attacked by a crowd of Arabs, one of whose sheiks came into the house where the bishops had taken refuge, and attempted to molest them, whereupon Gunther of Bamberg felled him to the ground. Of the seven thousand pilgrims conducted by the prelates to Jerusalem, only two thousand returned to their homes.

Gotteschalk, a priest from the palatinate, marched with 15,000 men into Hungary, and after laying the country waste, was fallen upon with his host by the Hungarian king, and the great caravan was cut to pieces. This expedition was succeeded by another of still greater magnitude, which, proceeding from France, passed through Germany, gaining volume and force in its progress. Many Germans joined it under Volkmar, a priest, and Count Ernicho of Leiningen; on their way they fell upon the Jews living on the Rhine, and massacred them without remorse. It was calculated that twelve thousand were thus put to death. At Mainz the Archbishop Rudhardt took the Jews under his protection, and gave them the great hall of his castle for an asylum; the pilgrims, however, stormed the hall, and murdered seven hundred Jews under the eyes of the archbishop.

The pilgrim horde, numbering two hundred thousand souls, reached Hungary, where their lawlessness roused the natives against them, and they were exterminated almost to a man.

But this is not the place in which to give the history of the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, nor of

the Crusades that sprang out of them ; but to point out the effects produced by them on the moral sense of Christendom. They established in the Christian mind the idea that it was the duty, the privilege of the soldier of Christ to give full range to his cruel love of destruction—a love that is in man, as in a beast of prey, and which Christianity is designed to control where it does not stamp it out. But then, the exercise of indiscriminate slaughter was allowed and commended as a privilege and duty only when the victims were unbelievers, Jews, or heretics. The Crusaders had no sooner arms in their hands than they forgot that they were bound to rescue the tomb of the Saviour, and turned them against the descendants of those who had slain Him ; and then, when they had learned the irksomeness and the danger of the journey to Jerusalem, and a contest with the Saracens, they asked why they should go in search of foreign foes of the Gospel, and leave in their own lands, not Jews only, but also heretics.

The slaughter of the Jews on the Rhine, and then the whole hateful sequel of Crusades against heretics followed. But—and here was a further development—were not the foes of the Pope also deserving of massacre, even though baptized members of Christ, and sound in the faith? The popes scrupled not to unfold the banner of the Cross against any of their disobedient sons.

"Every enemy of the political power of the Pope in Italy became as a heretic, or an unbeliever. Crusades were in later times levied against such as

dared to set bounds to the temporal aggrandisement of the Roman See, or to the personal or nepotic ambition of the ruling Pontiff." *

The Crusading, combined with the commercial, spirit acquired for the German realm large provinces on the Baltic, peopled by Sclav and Finn races. In 1161 the conquest and annexation of Finland by the Swedes roused the jealousy and cupidity of the Hanseatic towns, Bremen, Lübeck, and Hamburg, and they resolved on extending the German borders to the east, so as to obtain ports on the Pomeranian and Livonian shores. Hanseatic traders had visited these coasts, and with them had gone S. Meinhardt, who preached to the natives, and in 1187 founded the Bishopric of Yxküll. His successor, Berthold, a violent and unbending man, so irritated the people that they killed him (1198) when he came to chastise them at the head of a body of Crusaders. On his death, Albert, a canon of Bremen, was elected Bishop of Yxküll, and he went to take possession of his see with twenty-three ships full of armed men. He succeeded in founding the city of Riga, to which he transferred his seat; and in 1203 he founded an Order, the Brothers of the Sword, entirely composed of knights, whose duty it was to guard and extend the limits of the German possessions.

A great rising of Lithuanians, Livonians, and Letts, took place on one occasion when Albert was absent in Germany, and a massacre of the Germans ensued. Albert returned at the head of a crowd of

* Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' bk. viii. c. 6.

Crusaders, took a fearful vengeance on the Sclav population, and extended still further the limits of the Empire.

In 1217 Count Bernard von der Lippe became first Bishop of Singallen; he had two sons, Otto, bishop of Utrecht, and Gerhard, archbishop of Bremen. He was consecrated by his son Otto. The conquest of Esthonia was now resolved upon by the knights (Brothers of the Sword), and a battle took place, in which the Esthonians were completely routed. In 1218 the bishopric of Revel was founded, and that of Dorpat in 1223. The Pope was no sooner informed of the success of this Crusading Order, than he laid claim to the whole of the territory conquered by them. But Frederick II. refused to allow the claim; he confirmed the Order in their conquests, which he converted into an imperial fief. In 1237 the Order of the Brothers of the Sword was incorporated in that of Hospitallers, under the name of the Teutonic Order. The knights treated the subjugated Sclavs with unchristian ferocity, so that the bishops were constrained to make formal complaints of their conduct to the Pope, but their complaints were disregarded.

The knights built the town of Memel. Ottocar, king of Bohemia, invaded Samland at the head of a horde of Crusaders, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and founded the towns of Königsberg and Braunsberg (1255).

The period we have been considering (1024–1270) bears its own mark, it was that of desperate, unscrupulous contest waged by the papacy against

the Empire, not for the sake of righteousness and justice, not for religion, but simply for the sake of establishing the absolute, unquestionable, unassailable supremacy of the chair of S. Peter over all the thrones of Christendom; a contest waged to wrest from all Christendom the admission that, not spiritual authority only, but all temporal authority as well, flowed from the Pope as the Vicegerent of Christ. To enforce this doctrine on the minds of men, the popes scrupled at employing no instruments however unworthy, using the thunders of the heavenly treasury with wanton prodigality. The degradation of the papacy under the harlot Maroizia was bad, but that did not produce the wide-spread desolation, violence, and crime, that were wrought by high-minded Pontiffs, such as Gregory VII., Calixtus II., Innocent III., and Gregory IX. They rolled back for a century the wave of nascent culture, stirred up the brutal and bloodthirsty elements in the men who were being taught by the Gospel the blessings of peace, and prepared the material for that tremendous explosion of loathing and rage against the papacy which shook the apostolic throne in the 16th century, and tore the seamless robe of Christ into a thousand shreds.

XIV.

THE HIERARCHY IN THE 12TH CENTURY.

S. Bernard lays bare the causes of Corruption in his age—S. Bernard on the Encroachments of the Papacy—On Appeals to Rome—How these destroy all Discipline—Hildebert of Tours on Appeals—The parallel operations of Church and State—Confusion produced by investing the same Officer with functions in both—Simony—Gerohus of Reigersperg on the Bishops—S. Bernard on the Bishops—The Canons—The Clergy generally.

WE may be thought to have drawn a picture of the hierarchy of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries unduly dark in colouring, taking only the worst instances of worldliness and rapacity; but it can be hardly questioned by any who investigate the ecclesiastical history of this period, that worldliness and rapacity marked the conduct of almost all the prelates, both episcopal and abbatical. We have the testimonies of saintly writers of the time, who do not scruple to speak out very plainly, and make very sweeping charges. Such are S. Bernard, Gerohus of Reigersperg, and S. Hildegarde. The picture of the condition of religion which they offer to us is not cheering or consolatory; but so much greater is the honour due to such writers who in evil days dared frankly to declare the truth, to stand up for Christian morality

and ecclesiastical purity, in the face of Pope and curia and hierarchy. The remorseless disclosure of the evil in the Church was the only means whereby any recovery was possible. The wounds were laid bare, and it was no longer in the power of the interested to cover them over and deny their existence, whilst the evil, thus hidden, ate deeper and ever deeper into the vitals of the Mediæval Church. Truth is always healthful, falsehood ever disastrous, and falsehood lurks under the veil of hypocrisy and palliation of evil.

The episcopal office had been ordained by Christ, that each bishop should be free and independent in his diocese, subject only to the control of the entire episcopate, and thus the episcopal office continued to be in the East, and so remained in the West for some centuries. In the West many of the churches owed their foundation, or supposed they did, to the motherly zeal of the See of Rome, and therefore paid to it a filial respect. The popes, however, gradually encroached on the independence of the national churches, subjected the bishops to more or less control, and made bold claim to supremacy. The false decretals, that fabrication of falsehood and fraud, accepted by the papacy that claims infallibility, must ever remain as a testimony against such claims. They had to be fabricated, because there was no evidence extant that such powers had been arrogated previously by the See of S. Peter. The false decretals paved the way for the introduction of the new doctrine proclaimed in all its boldness by Gregory VII. "The Roman

Church," said he, "is the mother of all the churches of Christendom, and all are subject to her as daughters. She, the mother of all, rules all and every several member of them; archbishops, bishops and abbots. By virtue of the power of the keys, she can appoint and depose whom she will; they all derive their office and power from the Roman Church. As the saving faith is one, so is the Church one, so is the Pope, its head, but one. The Pope alone is from God; therefore, all powers, spiritual and temporal, are subject to him." Such doctrine was not taught by Christ, nor by the apostles, nor was it known to the primitive Church and the early fathers. It was the complete transformation of the ecclesiastical constitution. For the bishops became thenceforth the spiritual vassals of the Holy See, and as such they had an oath of allegiance imposed on them. The independent government of the churches by their metropolitans, bishops and synods came to an end; the Pope exercised over them a sovereign and judicial authority, and he sent forth his legates into all the nations of Christendom, like the proconsuls sent by the senate *ad provincias inspiciendas*, to order the affairs of churches, with the circumstances of which they were ignorant. Very usually they were men of little Christian virtue and wisdom, who sought only to use their office for the sake of gathering money into their hands. Gregory VII. has been regarded as a great reformer of the Church; but S. Bernard did not view him in this light, and the condition in which the Church was, seventy years after Gregory, when his

reforms had come into operation and were bringing forth their fruit, is not a favourable comment on his achievements.

Gregory had shaken off all the influence exerted by the German emperors on the elections, an influence healthy when exerted by the Ottos in the 10th, and by Henry III. and IV. in the 11th century, and to which alone was due the recovery of the Roman See from the vile slavery into which it had fallen—a slavery so base, that the power of recovering itself seemed to be no longer inherent in it. Gregory called the Normans to his aid, as guardians of the Roman Church, and protectors of canonical liberty; and the result was that Honorius II. and Innocent II. were uncanonically elected, and that the Church was devastated by schisms, stirred up by factions among the cardinals ruled by the Roman nobility, or by the Normans. Later came the great schism, when the popes were carried into the Babylonish captivity at Avignon, by French and Neapolitan jealousy, and the Cardinals for seventy years filled the Church with heartburning and desolation. No German Emperor by his influence in Rome ever did any evil approaching to this. When S. Bernard first began to speak out against the disorders in the papacy and the hierarchy, Eugenius III. occupied the apostolic throne, a worthy man who had been elevated to it against his will. Eugenius had been a disciple of Bernard before his elevation; the latter therefore deemed himself justified in pointing out to him the unapostolic and illegitimate attempt being made by the papacy to gain power.

"Do not flatter yourself that you can say with the apostle, once I was free, now am I the servant of all, for these words do not apply to you. The apostle did not turn the services of men to disgraceful uses. Did the ambitious, the avaricious, the simoniacal, the sacrilegious, stream to him from all quarters of the earth? Or priests with concubines and harlots, seeking either to obtain or retain cures of souls by apostolic favour?" "By all means throw open your courts, but deal therein in seemly manner. But the way in which matters are carried on in your courts is accursed; it is unbecoming a secular court, let alone one that is ecclesiastical."

Gregory VII. it was who turned the Roman Church into a curia, in which political interest was more considered than religion. He declared S. Peter to be the sovereign lord over eight kingdoms, and he, as the successor of S. Peter, meddled in the affairs of each He strove with the kings to obtain absolute power over the ecclesiastical revenues, which in Germany equalled pretty nearly half of what were the revenues of the State, and called this warfare a war for the liberty of the Church. In England, Alexander II. sacrificed the Anglo-Saxon Church to the tyrant William the Conqueror. In Germany, Gregory, forgetting his sacred calling, gave up the imperial power to be fought over, till it was reduced to almost destruction. "You are oblivious," wrote S. Bernard to the Pope, "of your vocation. Do not seek to command, but to effect what is really needed. Learn to use the spade, and not the sceptre, like a prophet

who seeks not to rule but to dig up weeds. If you set about working in the Lord's field, do you not suppose you will find work there? Most certainly—plenty."

In the primitive ages of the Church, the archbishops and their suffragans formed the highest Court of Appeal in the provinces. If anything of importance occurred needing consideration, a synod was summoned, and after careful consideration decision was formed as to the procedure of the Church under the circumstances.

But this independent action of the Churches—the essential requisite of health and progress—was a stone of stumbling to the popes. They succeeded, on the authority of the false decretals, in enervating the synods, and bleeding all fresh and vigorous life out of the Churches, and in suffering no synodal decrees to be enforced till they had been subscribed by the Pope. The jurisdiction of synods, metropolitans, and bishops, was brought to naught by the introduction of appeals to Rome. The synods met more rarely, and then ceased wholly; the power of the metropolitans was broken by exemptions granted to the bishops, and the abbeys were withdrawn from the supervision of the bishops. Even the diocesan clergy could at any time defy their bishops by an appeal to Rome when called to account for their misdeeds. National churches lost all control over their own affairs, which were dealt with, not on the spot, but at the Lateran by congregations of cardinals, who were almost all

Italians and Romans. "I speak to you," writes S. Bernard to the Pope, "of the mutterings and complaints in the churches, that they are being mutilated and dismembered. There are almost no churches left that are not thus treated, or are expecting such treatment. Do you ask what I mean? Why, this: that the abbots are withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the bishops, the bishops taken from under the authority of the archbishops, the archbishops exempted from that of the patriarchs and primates. Who can excuse such things? As you deal thus at Rome, you show plainly enough that you possess power in full measure, but not righteousness. You do this because you find you are able to do it; but whether you ought to do it, is quite another matter. You were placed where you are to keep watch and ward, that each should be maintained in honour in his proper place and rank, not that you should envy him these." "What right have you to make your will the law, and because none can appeal from it, to use violence, or to put common sense in the background? Are you greater than the Lord, who said, 'I am not come to do My own will'? Nay, it is unworthy of any intelligent man to live like a beast (by violence and rapine); and who would have supposed that you, the guide of all, should have submitted to such infamy, such dishonour to your high office? By your conduct you have merited the reproach, 'Man that is come to honour hath no understanding, but is compared unto the beasts that perish.' What can be more unworthy than that you

who have got possession of all should not be content with what you have? Remember the parable of Nathan, and the vineyard of Naboth."

"Don't tell me that any good comes of these emancipations and exemptions. They produce no other result than this, that the bishops become more insolent, and the monks more indisciplinable. Look where you will, wherever these exemptions exist, everywhere in pecuniary matters is confusion, and in spiritual, worldliness."

"See how true that saying is, All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient. Aye, and supposing they are *not* lawful. Excuse me, but I will not admit that it is lawful to do what is productive of so much evil. Do you consider yourself allowed to mutilate the churches in all their members? To upset existing order? To disturb every landmark which you forefathers planted? You are grievously mistaken if you suppose that your apostolic power is the only one, as it is the highest, instituted by God."

"I will give you one example of what comes of your appeals," says S. Bernard. "A wedding was prepared, the day of the marriage had arrived, the guests were invited, all was ready. When lo! a fellow who lusted after his neighbour's bride interfered with an appeal. She had been promised to him before. The bridegroom is in dismay; all is confusion; the priest dare not pronounce the nuptial benediction; all preparations are for naught; the guests must disperse—and nothing can be done till the appeal has been heard at Rome. . . . From this

and countless other examples, it appears that abuse does not spring out of contempt (of the claim to be supreme Court of Appeal), but that the abuse springs out of the claim; consequently, you may see what comes of your extending your protection so zealously over abuse, and caring nothing about the contempt that follows. Would you avoid being regarded with contempt? Then away with the abuse, and the excuse is removed."

In like manner, Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, wrote to Honorius II. (1125): "The growth of appeals to Rome is a novelty to us on this side of the Alps, and unwarranted by holy tradition. If such a novelty becomes established, and all appeals without difference go to Rome, then the papal censure will go to naught, and Church discipline be destroyed. For what robber, when condemned (by his bishop), will not appeal to the Pope? What clerk or priest will not take advantage of this method of checking interference with his evil course? What bishop will be able henceforth to punish—I do not say every, but *any* disobedience? Every appeal will be a snip out of his pastoral staff, weakening his confidence, shaking his uprightness, inasmuch as on him is laid constraint to be silent, and the guilty are encouraged to go their way unchastised. The end will be that sacrilege and robbery, harlotry and adultery will swell into a flood The hinderance and delay of punishment will favour the growth of evil, and they who are allowed to sin unpunished will sink into the pit of destruction."

"From all sides," says S. Bernard, in his 180th

letter, "but one cry is heard from all who have the care of souls, that righteousness is being ruined in the Church, that the (episcopal) power of the keys is destroyed, that episcopal respect is levelled with the dust, inasmuch as no bishop possesses power any longer to correct dishonour shown to the Lord, nor is it permitted any one of them to correct what is unseemly, even in his own diocese. The whole blame they thrust on you and the Roman curia. You, say they, undo all the good they have done, you set up what they have thrown down. All the good-for-naughts, all the litigious among priests and people—aye, and among the monks, fly to you, and come back, boasting that they have obtained protection, where they ought to have found chastisement. Why is not the sword of Phinehas drawn to avenge the sin of Zimri and Cozbi? It is blunted against the shield of apostolic protection extended over the wrongdoers. Shame! what mocking jeers are roused daily among the enemies of the Church. The friends of the Church are thrown into perplexity, the faithful are mocked at, and the bishops fall on all sides into contempt."

Although Church and State both work for the good of mankind, yet are they distinct institutions, and their mode of operation is different, though aimed at the same object. The function of the Church is to mould the moral and religious life of man, and the State undertakes the modelling of his social life. No society is complete without morals and religion, and without the protection of the State it would be impossible for the Church to fully accomplish what she takes

in hand. Moreover, the State, without the assistance of the Church in nourishing an inner spirit of obedience and morality, will find her labour infinitely more difficult. Church and State are complementary factors, necessary each to the other, each working in its own way and for its particular ends, and neither dominated over and paralysed by the supremacy of the other.

When the German nations entered the Church, they were for the most part rude and undisciplined, and the upper clergy, in culture standing high above the mass of the people, were constrained to work, not only in their proper sphere at the spiritual and moral education of the people, but also at their social transformation, their political organization and their intellectual culture. We have seen how that Charles the Great and his successors laid on them this double obligation; and it was an obligation they fulfilled to the best of their abilities. Bishops and abbots had access to court, and sat as councillors to princes, and as judges in courts of justice. They exercised supreme authority in the diets, and the administration of government was in their hands. Through them the laws were codified, and the order of government became regular; political life acquired order and stability. From the beginning, as we have already seen, the upper clergy in the German states occupied a double position; the bishops and abbots were at one and the same time princes of the State and pastors in the Church.

The estates of the forty German bishoprics and the countless abbeys in the 12th century, composed one-third

of the whole territory of the realm, and the revenues of the Church, including the tithes, one-half of the national income. It was irksome to the prelates at the head of these great feudal lands, to have not only to appear continually at court, but also to have to lead troops to war, like the secular princes. But such an obligation was inevitable. If the bishops and abbots enjoyed the *beneficia* of the realm as did the secular princes, they must also bear the *onera* issuing from them. It was impossible that it should be otherwise than that the temporal sovereignty united with the spiritual charge in one man, should gain the pre-eminence and stifle the other. How could the bishop, who had to appear at numerous diets, who had to lead his troops to battle, to attend at court on the monarch, who had the administration of extensive territories, and who was involved in all kinds of political intrigues—how could such a bishop devote himself to the spiritual necessities of his flock? How could he fulfil his spiritual obligations?

Then, again, the vast wealth at his disposal, the temptations of exercising his political influence, the continuous whirl of secular cares and business, must lead to a secularising of the mind, and a blunting of the spiritual perception. And so it was. We find that the life of the bishops in their palaces was utterly worldly; there was infinite luxury in clothing, in feasting; their houses were crowded with retainers; their courts sounded with the rattle of arms, the neighing of hunting horses and the baying of hounds. Who could recognize a follower of the apostles in the bishop, or

a pattern of self-abnegation in the abbot who held such a noisy and splendid court, who rode in armour at the head of his soldiers, and went in splendid state to attend a diet of the realm? The hand that to-day was extended at the altar, to-morrow brandished the sword; the lips that to-day uttered the glad tidings of peace, on the morrow thundered the battle-cry.

We have seen, and we shall see further, in the sequel, how ill this combination of offices worked. Here we will consider one of the evils it brought in its train that we shall not notice in another chapter:—this is simony. The temporal position of the bishops caused that position to be one greatly coveted. The evil began at Rome, where popes, in the 10th and 11th centuries, had sunk into the basest slavery to the political factions; and the chair of S. Peter was filled with the most unworthy men, who began the miserable trade of selling orders and benefices. This example rapidly spread, first through the episcopate of Italy, then to France and Germany, but in Germany never reached that head it did elsewhere, as the Saxon and Frank kings appointed worthy men to the great sees, and the provincial and imperial synods operated for the correction of every such evil as it arose. It is true that we have complaints of simony raised in Germany, and that the sovereigns were accused of simoniacal conduct in exacting fees from the bishops and abbots on their appointment; but the sovereigns exacted these fees on investing them with their *temporal* fiefs, and precisely similar fees were demanded of the secular nobles when they were invested with fiefs.

The only true simony was that in which clergy were concerned in the sale. Simony is the selling a divine gift for money, and the kings never arrogated to themselves the power to confer orders; consequently, they could not commit simony. In a synod of German bishops, Henry III., the restorer of the papacy, was obliged to gravely remonstrate with the bishops for their simoniacal proceedings, and Rudolf Glaber, who gives his speech, adds, "Not only among the Gallic (German and Frank) bishops did this evil exist in great force, but in a far higher degree was Italy corrupted by it; there, all spiritual offices were at this time sold like marketable wares."

Gerohus of Reigersperg, in a letter to the bishops of Germany, paints their worldliness in darkest colours, but hardly more darkly than they deserved. "Have not the bishops," he asks, "been so mixed up with the secular princes, have they not become so schooled in their ways of life, that many of them know better how to storm a fortress, to general an army, and what becomes a duke rather than a bishop, than to fulfil the duties of their sacred calling? As in the days of Zerubbabel the work of the building of the Temple was hindered by those who neglected or desecrated the law of the Lord, so is it now in our time. Let our bishops put away from them this worldly pomp which, like a foul garment, stains and disfigures their episcopal vestment. What has a bishop to do with splendid dress? What with hosts of warriors? Is Christ to be again seized and crucified, and the bishop lead the cohort, like the traitor Judas, rather than the pastor Peter?

And, as S. Paul says, they who sin against the brother for whom Christ died, sin against Christ, so does the bishop sin who spends the patrimony of the poor among fighting-men, and leaves the former to perish with want. The bishop who squanders among his men-at-arms the offerings that should be for the poor, loses his soul, and is worse than Judas. Yes! he is a Judas, and not a Peter, when he snatches the bread out of the mouths of the poor wherewith to pamper his armed retainers at whose head he rides. Who empowered a bishop to collect warriors for battle, and to execute all the functions of a duke, which neither Sylvester nor any bishop ventured on under Constantine?" "Do not these haughty prelates reign as kings, grasping after base worldly profit, without cessation, instead of seeking those things that are above? As long as they sacrifice their high calling to their insatiable avarice, they prove oblivious of righteousness, turning the alms they receive, gifts to the Lord, to their own ends, and utterly disregarding the poor members of the poor Christ!" "The bishops not only surrender all the parcels of land into the hands of the fighting-men, but hand over with them the serfs of the Church into bitter slavery." "The Church is plundered by the bishops and the other prelates, in that they give over the serfs of the Church to their military vassals to be tortured by them, oppressed by them as though they were their own bondsmen." "O holy Church of God, thou one and simple dove! what avails it to the poor serfs that thou dost not rend them with thine own claws, if thou spreadest not forth thy

wings to protect them, and deliver them from the claws of the hawks? These military vassals, to whom they are handed over, rend and devour them as hawks and vultures, and the bishops who have handed them over to these 'birds of prey,' think they are justified in so doing."

S. Bernard writes: "A man blushes to be thought a simple priest in the Church; he considers himself badly treated and without credit, so long as he has not mounted a step higher. School children, boys and beardless youths, because of their noble birth, are given ecclesiastical honours, and are set over worthy priests; more heartily glad to have escaped the birch than to have gained such pre-eminence. They are not so much elated at becoming teachers, as at having escaped school. So they begin, then they go on to sell altars, to empty the purses of their subjects, obedient to the promptings of their ambition and avarice. On all sides men in orders are scrambling for benefices, as if striving to outdo each other. . . . Is any one a dean, a provost, archdeacon or the like, he is not content with one office and one church—no! he is ever striving to unite as many benefices as he can in his own hands, and his highest ambition is to become a bishop. But suppose he becomes one, is he satisfied? He is scheming after an archbishopric. And when he has this, then, tormented by his dreams of vain glory, he goes at great cost to Rome, by expensive outlay to win profitable friendships. Others, not able to do this, turn their energies in another direction. If they are chief pastors over populous cities, and have, so to

say, whole nationalities under their sway in their dioceses, then they compass the robbing them of their old privileges, and endeavour to subject neighbouring cities to their control, so that two cities, to each of which one prelate would hardly suffice, are forced to be brought under the government of one. I ask, whence comes this hateful audacity, this fierce greed, to lord it over the earth—this unbridled ambition to take the first place?"

Of the cathedral chapters, the canons, Bernard writes with almost as great bitterness as he does of Pope and bishops. Among them, he says, "Pride of life rolls on the four wheels of gluttony, vulgar lust, idleness and luxury of dress. It is drawn by two horses—superfluity, and love of the pleasures of life. The drivers are crass idleness and treacherous security." Gerohus says much the same of the canons. "They are acephali (headless); like the hippocentaurs, which are neither horses nor men, so are these a mixed and confused breed, living neither wholly by ecclesiastical rule, nor by the law of the world. They are called clerks or canons, but they form the synagogue of Satan. In their greed they draw all Church offices either to themselves, or give them to their like, or worse. They are in possession of the chief honours and benefices, and grind down the citizens of Jerusalem so much the harder, as they serve the king of Babylon in Jerusalem, mixing worldly things with spiritual. You can know them neither by their clothing, nor by their conduct, nor by the society they keep."

It can hardly be supposed that when the chief

shepherds of the Church were such worldlings, that the ordinary pastors were lights to the world. The evil that smote the head sickened the whole body. S. Bernard laments over the degradation of the parochial clergy, their idleness, their avarice, the way in which they combined with their sacred functions the profession of usury, their love of dress, their drunkenness, and general immorality. At a time when the lands were everywhere being taken from the freemen, the old yeomen, or *Freisassen*, as they were called, and given in lien to nobles, there was only the religious and ecclesiastical life open to this class, robbed of their liberties, rights, and position, in which to secure an existence. But not only did they enter the sacred orders, but also a large number of serfs were ordained —men over whom the bishops and their feudal lords could exercise control, to squeeze out of them the ecclesiastical revenues they drew. In addition to the beneficed clergy there were numbers of vagabond priests going about the country disposing of false relics and indulgences, causing scandal among the faithful by their dissolute lives and by the preposterous demands they made on the credulity of the people.*

* See for numerous extracts from S. Bernard on the condition of the Church in his day, Ellendorf: 'Der heilige Bernhard v. Clairvaux und die Hierarchie seiner Zeit.' Essen. 1837.

XV.

THE CHURCH IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES.

The factors of Modern Civilization—The Church preserves its Classic Culture during the inroads of Teutonic Barbarians—Chivalry, the regulation of Destructive Force—The Burgessdom, the development of Trade and Manufacture—The Nursery of the Homely and Social Virtues—The rise of the German Cities—The Constitution therein—The Patricians—The Guilds—The Bishops and the Cities—The story of Archbishops Conrad and Engelbert of Cologne—The story of Archbishop Burkhard III. of Magdeburg—The Prelates and the Empire—Encourage Disorder—Opposition Kings—The history of Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz and the Election of Adolf of Nassau and of Albert of Austria.

THE civilization of modern Europe, but especially of Germany, is due to three factors, three institutions, two of which grew up in the Middle Ages. The first of these is the Church. At the time when the Teutonic races poured down on the old Roman world, with its stores of learning and art, all civilization was threatened with annihilation, and all would have been swept away leaving only dead relics behind, had it not been for the Church, which preserved some of the old learning, much of the ancient culture, and, like the woman of the Gospel, took this leaven and put it into the measures of fresh and raw

meal of the Germanic races and therewith leavened them.

Much is due to the patience, the diligence, and the devotion of the monks. They cleared the forests and drained marshes, they brought with them into barbaric lands the arts of horticulture and of tillage, and taught the wild and warlike peoples among whom they settled to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. The monks and the clergy, by their virtues, by the real services they rendered, made themselves beloved and respected, and this love and respect were shown in the lavish profusion wherewith benefaction after benefaction was poured into their laps. As we have seen, the wealth thus acquired, never parted with, always growing, became the occasion of the fall of the hierarchy from its high calling, and with the hierarchy the lower clergy were also dragged into mundane and sordid cares, lost the love and respect of the people, and no longer served them as guides and enlighteners. In one direction only did they still carry the torch of progress, and that was in architecture and the kindred arts. The wealth and pride of the bishops made them disposed to build stately churches, and yet—but one of the many Gothic minsters begun on a splendid scale in Germany in the Middle-pointed period was completed, that of Freiburg, and that was precisely one that was built by free citizens and not by a pomp-loving bishop. The Church certainly did much to soften the gross manners of the people, by holding up before them a

lofty and pure ideal; it exercised some restraint over warlike kings, and put some barriers in the way of the conversion of the feudal system into a despotism. It got rid of slavery, or so mitigated the lot of the villain that his condition was not insupportable; thus, in spite of all the shortcomings of its pastors, and none fell shorter of their duty than the chief pastors, the flock of God was fed and watered after a fashion.

It was inevitable that the unlimited power of the hierarchy must lead to abuse, and abuse on a large scale; for how could men exercise an irresponsible and unlimited sovereignty over the minds, the souls of men, without exercising it in a tyrannous manner? The bishops were men, and men with human infirmities. That they were unable to bring the German people into complete mental and spiritual servitude was due to the second institution, one that sprang up, came to perfection, and then died away in the Middle Ages. This institution was chivalry. The suspicion that every force that is undisciplined contains within itself the seed of dissolution was the cause why the war-loving aristocracy of the German races laid down laws, and erected barriers, whereby the exercise of brute force was held in order, and directed to serviceable purposes. Chivalry sprang out of the feeling of necessity for something of the sort. It had no founder, no law-giver, and yet it formed a well-defined and morally powerful whole, which could not be broken down by any extraneous attack. What cultured intelligence was to the clerk, that was

chivalry to the knight, direction given him in which to exert himself, a limitation of his liberty voluntarily submitted to, but without the reason being fully understood: it was a moral instinct, not a moral conviction. The man, unaccustomed to govern himself, submitted to be controlled by an unwritten law. It was to the wild aristocracy of the Middle Ages what the laws of society are to gentlefolks of the present day, a something external that sustains them when they are individually lacking in moral resolution.

The hierarchy gladly encouraged the formation of chivalry. It sought the same ends as the Church in another fashion—the protection of the weak, the redress of wrongs, self-restraint, and truth. Not only so, but it was, like the Church, though in a far less degree, a leveller of men. Every freeborn man, to the possessor of a few poor acres, was entitled to aspire to knighthood, and in knighthood there was no distinction—from the king to Sir Lackland all stood on the same footing. But as the possession of a small allodial estate was an indispensable qualification for knighthood, chivalry came hardly at all in contact with the lowest class of men. The common serf or villain was influenced by the Church, and could rise in the Church to be a prince-bishop; but he could not penetrate at all the frontier of chivalry, and learn anything from those men beyond; they were as alien to him as men of another race.

But there was a third institution, one of the mightiest and most enduring bases of our modern civilization, which was also a growth of the Middle Ages,

and was not destined to perish like chivalry. Chivalry has only perished in its external organization, in essence it remains; it has leavened the German and Gallic races, and modern courtesy, deference to the weaker sex, and tenderness to children, that polish of manner and refinement of feeling which shrinks from causing another pain, are the result of the institution of chivalry in the Middle Ages. The third factor in modern culture is citizenhood—Burgessdom. The clergy had sunk into dull indifference to learning, the knights had forgotten the laws of chivalry and had run wild, free institutions had disappeared almost wholly from the land, when within the walls of the towns sprang up the corporate life of a city and developed the most—not splendid, but enduringly beneficial results. All the virtues in mankind, individual or social, have found their scope for expansion in this field. Whatsoever princes, prelates and knights wrought that was good was mostly individual, lasted but awhile and was lost: it depended on the force of the individual to sustain, to promote it; but what the corporate life of the city has effected has been permanent, has hardly halted in its development, is inherited by us in rich abundance, and will be, in richer still, by our grandchildren.

We have come now to that epoch in which the cities of Germany arrived at articulate and vigorous life. And we shall have first to arrive at a clear perception of what that life was, before we shall see how the prelates strove to stem it, even to neutralize it, and that will enable us to understand what the real

significance of the Reformation in the cities of Germany was: an inevitable revolt against forces that strove in every way to impede healthy growth, and to distort and stunt corporate life.

To understand German Burgessdom we must go back to the beginning.

When the Teutonic invaders overwhelmed the Roman provinces, they found there flourishing cities inhabited by Roman settlers. These did not all withdraw; many remained and formed a nucleus of civilization in the midst of barbarism. Their superior intelligence enabled them, in time, to obtain offices of trust in the towns, and to carry on most of the business in them. When the Frank realm was formed, in each city were placed *ministrales*, officers of the crown; very probably a good many of these were chosen from among the descendants of the old Roman citizens who remained on as a caste, distinct from the Germans, like the Greeks in Turkish cities. The free Germans despised heartily all mercantile work, and the trade of the towns was left entirely in the hands of those citizens of Latin origin, or West Frank (half-Gallic) merchants, who had settled in the towns for purposes of trade. But in addition to the merchants there were two other classes held in some repute. These were, first, the freeholders who had estates near the city, but who, for safety, lived within its walls. In many a German town it is so still; the town houses are provided with cattle-stalls in the basement, and with haylofts and cornsheds in the roof —there are no farmhouses to be seen round a town:

the town is actually a collection of farmhouses within walls. These freeholders, in almost all cases, had, however, sacrificed their freedom for the sake of protection, and had received back their land subject to a light feudal tenure, either a payment in coin or in kind, or in discharging a service to the feudal lord. Secondly, there were in the towns the free artificers, employed on some craft, not regarded as by any means the equal of the merchant, who was probably an old Roman by descent, nor of the freeholder, of pure German blood, but distinct from the serf.* These classes formed the *Cives*, *Burgenses*, the burghers, with legal rights, whereas the serfs under them had none.

The superior class of all, that which arrogated to itself an hereditary right to offices under the crown, the *ministrales* and their descendants, held themselves very high; they were often very rich, they bought lands, they held the traffic of the town in their hands, and they called themselves *the Families* (Geschlechter), later, patricians. They were city-nobility, with their pedigrees, their coats of arms, and their overweening pretensions. They constituted the Rath, the Town Council; the entire government of the city or town was in their hands.

But during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, the makers of goods, woolcombers, weavers, shoemakers, armourers, bakers—in a word, all the crafts were consolidated into guilds (Zünfte), and these

* Not at first, but in course of time. At first all artizans were of servile stock.

guilds were under the control of the master of each society, freely elected by the members. As these societies of craftsmen grew in power and in wealth, they endeavoured to wrest the management of town affairs from the hereditary councillors, and the German towns were repeatedly the scene of furious conflicts between the patricians and the guildsmen. Finally, a compromise was reached, a lower council was formed to which the craftsmen elected; then the masters of the guilds forced their way into the upper house, and wrung the chief power from the hands of the patricians. To this day these ancient patrician families remain in many an old town, and their houses within are museums of mediæval heirlooms; the churches and cloisters are crowded with their heraldic memorials. They claim that they are the nobility of the city, just as the barons and counts are the nobility of the country.

All the cities and towns throughout the realm regarded the sovereign as their supreme head, even when they were the seats of princely bishops or abbots. And they were specially subject to him because he had charge of the defence of the realm, and the walled cities were the fortified centres for protection against invaders. In order that the king might exercise his sovereign rights over the cities, to each was appointed an officer who was his representative as civil and criminal judge over all who were within the fortress, and who also was entrusted with the summoning of those liable to be called to arms when required. His title was Burggrave. But as

the bishops had obtained, in nine cases out of ten, from the king, temporal jurisdiction over all the lands that belonged to them, there arose continual conflict between the double courts ; the citizens on one side, and the bishops on the other, used their utmost endeavours to obtain exclusive control of the courts of justice, and the bishops were usually successful. When in 953 the Emperor Otto I. gave to his brother Bruno the archiepiscopal throne of Cologne, he gave him and his successors supreme judicial rights over the city. He gave the same to the Bishop of Bremen in 966 ; to the Archbishop of Magdeburg in 968. Otto II. gave it to the Bishop of Strasburg in 983 ; and Otto III. to the Bishop of Speyer in 989.

The bishops speedily tired of the exercise of the office in their own persons, and gave the discharge of the administration of justice to deputies. As these men were under no control by the city, the burghers were impatient thereat, and made many, but usually futile efforts to escape from the jurisdiction of the bishops in civil and criminal cases.

When the power of the kings was insufficient to maintain security on the highways, the merchants who travelled to the fairs combined in caravans for mutual protection, and hired armed men to protect them on their way. The advantage of combination soon made itself felt, and guilds of merchants were constituted, into which admission was obtained by oath of conformity to the rules, and the payment of an annual subscription. The emperors confirmed these guilds, and they obtained for themselves ex-

traordinary privileges, established their own halls of merchandise, appointed their own officers, and had their own courts.

The craftsmen were not slow to follow suit. Originally all hand labour was regarded as servile, and the craftsmen all belonged to the unfree class. They, however, obtained their freedom, and by combination gained great power, so great that, as already seen, they were able to break the absolute power of the aristocratic council of the towns. There existed so many jealousies in the cities between the hereditary families, the guilds, and the craftsmen's clubs, that the bishops were able on many occasions to play them off, one against the other, for their own ends, much as the Pope pitted one set of nobles and electors in the Empire against another set, for his ends.

Such was the condition of affairs in the towns and cities in the period that immediately preceded the Reformation. We will now take some instances to illustrate the behaviour of the bishops towards the cities; samples—perhaps extreme ones—of what went on wherever the bishops exercised or claimed judicial power in the cities where were their episcopal thrones.

Conrad of Hochstetten (1237), as Archbishop of Cologne, largely extended the territory of his see. He obtained the castle and county of Hochstetten and Harth (1246) from his step-brother, and five important manors from the Countess Mathilda of Sayn. In 1248 he laid the foundation of the present Cathedral of Cologne, a witness to all time, not only

of the high artistic culture of his day, but also of the vast wealth of mediæval Cologne. That it was begun and not completed will be explained by what follows. Conrad was engaged in warfare with Simon, bishop of Paderborn, on whose territories the archbishop ventured to encroach. Conrad defeated him in battle, and threw him into prison, where he lingered two years, and was only released in 1256 on very hard conditions, so hard that Pope Alexander IV. annulled them.

During the first years of his reign the citizens of Cologne lived on good terms with their archbishop, and assisted him in his military enterprises; but these terms were altered when he sought to lay his hands on some of those rights which the citizens claimed as cherished privileges. The chief grievance was this. The city enjoyed the right of coining its own money, and only on one occasion—when the archbishop crossed the Alps with the emperor to Rome—was he allowed to coin. But this did not satisfy Conrad, and he established his own mint. The city refused to allow his coins to circulate within their walls. This so enraged the archbishop that he gathered a military force, and sent a declaration of war against Cologne. He marched against the city, and encamped about Deutz. Then he sent fourteen ships of war to cruise up and down the river, and intercept the merchant vessels arriving at or leaving the city. In the meantime, with catapults he shot great stones into the town. As he failed to capture any of the Cologne merchant vessels, he now sent a

fire-ship among them, but was again unsuccessful. As he was unable to effect anything against so well fortified a city, well provided with food, he allowed himself to be pacified, and agreed to terms of peace. The peace, however, did not last long. Hostilities again broke out, and both sides prepared for a tough and determined contest. Archbishop Conrad now closed all the roads and ways, by land and water, by which provisions could enter the town. The citizens issued from their gates, but could not reach the episcopal forces because of a swollen stream that divided them. Workmen were employed, the stream diverted, and they rushed upon the besiegers. Archbishop Conrad, who was in the fray, had a valuable diamond on his finger, and this he promised as a reward to his knights if they routed the enemy. But his offer was in vain. The citizens fought with heroism, and on either side such as would not yield their arms were cut to pieces. Thirty knights were taken prisoners by the brave Colognese, and the archbishop was obliged to fly. Four citizens pursued him on horse to the gates of his castle at Vrechen; there, however, they were taken as they attempted to return, and were cast into chains.

After a long and tedious contest, Archbishop Albert of Trèves offered his mediation. This was accepted, and he decreed that the city should pay to their archbishop six thousand marks. This seemed an extravagant fine; however, after much murmuring, it was paid. No sooner had Conrad received the money, than he began to stir up strife in the city

again. He invited the wealthy citizens to become confederates with him, to assist him with arms, and to take his part in the council of the city, and he promised, if they would so do, that he would give over to them large estates in fee. This proposal was coldly received, and deliberately rejected. As the city nobility had not fallen into his snares, he now spread the net for the craftsmen. He sent to the richest and most influential of the guilds of the trades, and invited them to seek in him a protector against the ambition and pride of the hereditary councillors. He had reckoned on the envy and rancour borne against the city nobles by these craftsmen, and he was not mistaken in his reckoning. They fell in with his proposal, and promised to assist him. The archbishop then entered the city, deposed the most powerful of the nobles from the town council, and filled their places with creatures of his own. He also deposed all the magistrates and officers, and deprived the city guard of their weapons. Then he carried off seven of the heads of the principal families in Cologne as hostages, and delivered them over to the guild of the weavers. They, however, managed to effect their escape, and fled the town. The whole government of the place was now in the hands of the archbishop, who taxed and tolled as suited him, and made the main burden fall on the obnoxious patricians.* This led to the noble families rising in revolt, and arming themselves to

* The title Patrician was not actually adopted by the city nobles till later.

recover their ancient power. They formed two large bodies, well harnessed, and so threatening that the archbishop was constrained to treat with them. By a base deception he tricked them into laying down their arms, and at once the archbishop, in spite of his oath to the contrary, arrested twenty of the ringleaders, and carried them off to one of his castles, where he imprisoned them. Others, fearing for their safety, took to flight, and escaped to the Netherlands. As the city was now cleared of its best and ablest men, trade, prosperity, everything began to decline. The archbishop took possession of the city gates and towers on the walls, filled every office with men on whose fidelity he could count, and ruled in the town as an absolute sovereign. Some of the burghers he drove away; others he threw into chains. Such was the condition of affairs in Cologne for two years, that is, till 1261, when he died. The year before his death he held a provincial synod, in which he passed a strong statute against the clergy who lived in marriage, or, as it was now termed, concubinage, and, as he was a remorseless prelate, this statute was carried into effect with peremptoriness throughout the diocese.

He was requested by a deputation from Cologne, when he lay on his death-bed, to release the imprisoned burghers, but he refused, saying that he had sworn to keep them in chains as long as life was in him.

He was succeeded by Engelbert of Falkenburg, provost of S. Gereon; and the citizens had great hopes

in his elevation, as they had done him many services, and he had made them the most liberal promises. But no sooner was he enthroned, than he confirmed in their functions all the new magistrates and officers appointed by his predecessor, and left the imprisoned burghers unreleased. When three of the most wealthy and notable burghers of Cologne came to him at his castle on the Aar to entreat for the liberation of their brother citizens, he arrested them also and cast them into a dungeon, where they were fed on bread and water only. By good luck, however, they managed to obtain a file, and with it broke their way through the window and escaped.

In the following year Archbishop Engelbert was laying siege to the castle of Thoynburg, to revenge some wrong done him, and found that the siege was a more difficult matter than he expected, and demanded all his strength. The kinsmen of the imprisoned burghers thought this an opportunity for again attempting to obtain the release of their relatives. They came to his camp, and offered him fifteen hundred marks if he would open the prison doors, and they made a further proposal, to which he listened with eager ears.

The new magistrates and town officers appointed by his predecessor had exercised their functions for seven years ; and with them Engelbert was by no means contented. They belonged to the craftsmen, and the guilds had no intention whatever of having the liberties of the city sacrificed, and the city treasury plundered by the archbishop at his pleasure, and to

satisfy his needs. They had, even under Conrad, obtained the removal of the archiepiscopal guards from the walls and gates, and had replaced them with city guards. They had begun to demand the restoration of other privileges of which the town had been robbed. This had incensed Engelbert, and he was chafing with desire to humble them and to recover absolute authority over the city. The kinsmen of the imprisoned burghers now proposed that he should withdraw his support from the craftsmen and throw the weight of his power to the side of the patricians. They undertook, if this were done, that they would serve him better than had the officers of the guilds. Engelbert greedily consented, and furnished the petitioners with sealed letters to his castellan to liberate the captives, as soon as he was himself master of Cologne. Engelbert arrived before the city, entered it in state, and summoned the magistrates before him. He ordered them to produce all the treasure of the city, the accumulation of tax and toll throughout their tenure of office, and when they could or would not do this, he had them fallen on by his armed retainers, and so cruelly treated that four of them died in the hall; the rest were cast into chains. The archbishop now obtained the keys of the gates, and appointed his own men to guard them.

Now that the city was in his hands, he erected five strong castles in it, in which to place a garrison to maintain the authority of himself and his successors over Cologne. These castles cost him six thousand marks, and from their strength were supposed to be

impregnable. Now the sealed letters were opened that were to have recalled the prisoners. It was found that the archbishop, so far from consenting to their release, ordered their further detention as hostages for the rest of their class. Moreover, those patricians who had fled or been expelled, he did not suffer to return to their houses.

The archbishop next summoned all the representatives of the various bodies in the town, to assemble in the town-hall and hear his intentions. He announced the nomination of a burgomaster, and declared that henceforth he was to receive from the town the tolls on beer, on the mills, and whatever was exacted for the maintenance of the roads and gates. Also that every citizen should be rated so as to raise the sum of six thousand marks, which was to be paid over to him within a stated time.

The representatives of the town listened in silence, and withdrew to consult. It had been made plain to them that their only salvation lay in reconciliation between the classes, and united resistance to the archiepiscopal despotism.

The city now armed in silence, then broke out into insurrection, the castles were stormed, desperate fights ensued in the streets during several days, but finally the soldiers of the archbishop were defeated and driven out of the town.

This defeat so embittered Engelbert, that he was not seen to smile again. He took a solemn oath to execute a bloody revenge on the rebellious city ; and he strained every nerve to collect an overwhelming

force against it. He called to his aid Bishop Henry of Liége and his brother Otto, Count of Guelders ; but these worthy princes, distressed at the conduct of the archbishop, instead of assisting him with their arms, used every method of persuasion to induce him to give over his project of retaliation. The archbishop swore that nothing would induce him to forgive the city of Cologne till he had hung twenty of her leading citizens. Count Otto then threatened to withdraw ; but he warned Engelbert that so strong and powerful was the city, that he would exhaust his strength and revenues against the walls, and at the end of seven years be no nearer his object. Alarmed at this prospect, the archbishop reluctantly consented to allow him to negotiate terms of peace with the citizens. Thereupon, Count Otto and the Bishop of Liége entered Cologne, were received with respect, and proceeded to treat with the citizens.

They agreed that all the privileges of the town which it had possessed before the encroachments of Conrad, should be restored to it, and that the city should pay a fine, once for all, of six thousand marks, in full discharge of all offences committed. Both sides swore to observe this agreement, and peace was proclaimed. But no sooner had Engelbert received the six thousand marks from the citizens, than he started for Rome, to persuade the Pope to absolve him of his oath. Clement IV. granted him the desired absolution ; thereupon Engelbert sped back to the Rhine, and threatened the city with an interdict he had obtained from Clement IV. placing the city

under excommunication for six years, if it resisted him, and unless he were paid the further sum of twelve hundred marks. To this the citizens consented, on condition that the papal bull and the brief releasing the bishop from his oath should be destroyed. This was done, and the money paid. The citizens of Cologne now supposed that peace was secured, but almost immediately fresh trouble ensued.

The archbishop appeared in the city to hold a Court of Justice (1263), and whilst he was there, it was arranged that a number of his armed retainers should enter the town secretly, surround the court, and take captive the burghers there assembled. Engelbert entrusted the conduct of the affair to his brother. The latter came with a small following, but the rest were ordered to cover their weapons with cloaks, and otherwise disguise themselves, and slip in by various gates by threes and fours. The town council, however, discovered the plot, and arrested Engelbert's brother, and refused to admit the archbishop's men. Then the council appeared before the prelate, reproached him for his treachery, and placed him under the guard. He remained in arrest eight days. The tidings spread, and the Bishop of Liége and Otto of Guelders came to Cologne to make peace. By their intervention the archbishop and his brother were released, and a solemn promise was made that the imprisoned patricians of Cologne should be set free. On their side the Colognese agreed to pay four thousand marks.

No sooner, however, was the archbishop free, and

had received the money, than he cast about how he might revenge himself on the city. His best way was, he considered, to revive the jealousies that slumbered in the place. He accordingly wrote to the heads of the craftsmen's guilds, telling them that they were being intolerably oppressed by the patricians, and advising them to range themselves under his banner, and he promised, if they would do so, to force the higher burgess to admit the lower ones to the same privileges that they enjoyed. The craftsmen's guilds allowed themselves to be persuaded; they armed, and a bloody contest ensued between them and the patricians; but the latter remained masters of the field.

The failure of this attempt did not cause the archbishop to abandon his design. He sent a monk named Wolfart into the town, to work along with a trusty confederate, the parson of S. Columbanus, to promote dissension in the city. These men formed an intrigue along with some discontented nobles, and a number of adherents were won by promises, or bought with gold. The plot determined on was this. The archbishop was to march against the city at the head of an army, and to destroy the mills on the river; this he could effect with his four-and-twenty vessels of war. While thus engaged, the confederates would set fire to a house in the market place, and in the confusion occasioned by this, they would seize on and open one of the city gates to the archbishop's forces. The archbishop gathered a host, the Counts of Berg and Cleve, and the metropolitan of Mainz, came to

his assistance, and they encamped at Soulz, awaiting the signal of the rising smoke and flames. But the signal was not given. The watchfulness of the citizens had discovered the plot and frustrated it. The Count of Cleve then withdrew; he declared that a heavenly vision had warned him against participating any further in an unholy warfare; he was followed by the Archbishop of Mainz, and Engelbert was forced to disband his troops, though without abandoning his purpose.

There was in the city a family called Weisse, very wealthy and with many branches, and one of them was burgomaster. But there was a rival family, the Oberstolzen, even more wealthy, who held a large number of offices in their hands. The Weisses hated the Oberstolzen, but were unable to avenge on them some old grudges and jealousies. The parson of S. Columbanus now intrigued with some of the Weisse family, promising to obtain assistance from the archbishop to overthrow their rivals, so that they might secure all the coveted offices for themselves. They agreed, and in reward were sent by the prelate a score of scarlet dresses, trimmed with green, such as were worn by knights. But when the Oberstolzen saw their rivals appear flaunting their new scarlet dresses, their suspicions were roused. They sent to the Count of Juliers and entreated his intervention. The count arrived, and the case of dissension between the two families was investigated, and he pronounced his judgment thereon, which was accepted without demur. The Weisses, however, were not satisfied;

nothing would content them but the complete overthrow of the abhorred Oberstolzen. They took up arms and fell on their rivals, and on the Count of Juliers, whilst at banquet; but were driven back with loss, and obliged to fly the town.

The Weisses now went to Bonn, and were well received by the archbishop, who contrived with them a new plot. The Weisses wrote to some of their friends in Cologne, that the archbishop was ready to free the city from all tolls, if only the lower classes would support him. But the promises of Engelbert were mistrusted. Then Hermann Weisse proposed a scheme that was at once received. Behind the city wall lived a man called Habenichts (Have-not), hard by the Ulrich's gate, who sold wax candles, which he took about the country peddling. He was promised twenty-five marks if, in his garden which adjoined the wall, he would dig a hole through which a man and horse could enter. He agreed and set to work, and in a while had carried it so far that only those stones remained to be removed which faced and concealed the place where he had worked. When all was prepared, the confederates invited Duke Walraf of Limburg to assist them with five hundred men, and promised him all the property and estates of the Oberstolzen, if he would join in the taking of Cologne. He agreed, and he wrote to the Count of Cleve and the archbishop's brother to meet him on an appointed night outside the Ulrich's gate of Cologne at the head of a considerable body of men.

They met as appointed, and the hole was broken

open. The horses had their saddles removed, and were led through the gap; as the weather was cold, and the process of getting in was slow, those who came in first took shelter in the adjoining barns and outhouses. The men were not wholly silent, but began to talk of the pillage that they were likely to obtain, and some one overheard the conversation, and at once sped through the town calling to arms. The alarm bells were rung; men poured into the streets and found that somewhat over sixty men-at-arms on horseback had already entered the city. A desperate conflict ensued; but it was not doubtful for a moment as to the result; the sixty men were taken or slain; the Duke of Limburg was made captive, and the archbishop's brother was killed, along with several of the Weisses, who fought till they fell, asking for and expecting no quarter.

Archbishop Engelbert had been the instigator of all these attacks upon the city, and the citizens now knew that no oath, no settlement, was sacred in the eyes of so ambitious and perfidious a prince. They resolved therefore to seek for protection against him from powerful neighbours whom he would be forced to respect. They entered into communication with the Counts of Guelders and Juliers, of Berg and of Katzenellenbogen, together with some powerful barons, and constituted them protectors of their liberties; and they undertook to pay them an annual tribute for their services. This compact was abhorred by Archbishop Engelbert, as it put the city completely out of his power; his rage was turned on those who

had promised their aid to Cologne, and he declared war against the Count of Juliers, and fell upon Sinzig, an imperial free city under his protection. The Count was unprepared, and the city was forced to capitulate. Then the archbishop fell on the land of Juliers and devastated it with fire and sword. The count met him, but was repulsed. He called to his aid the Count of Guelders, and both attacked, routed the archbishop, and took him prisoner (1269). The Count of Juliers, exasperated at the barbarities committed in his land on the unfortunate peasants by the soldiers of the archbishop, carried him off to his castle Neideck, had an iron cage built, and in that exposed him on certain days to the derision of the people. Several bishops wrote to the count to implore him to release the archbishop; Pope Clement was dead, and there was a vacancy of more than two years in the Pontificate. The count therefore had no apprehension from any ban from that quarter. To all appeals for the release of Engelbert, the count replied: "I have not encaged an archbishop, but a bird of prey who ravaged my land." However, he consented to let him go free if the clergy of his diocese and the chapter of Cologne would pay him a considerable sum of money. To this, however, they were by no means inclined, their love for their chief pastor was not cordial, and they suffered him to languish in his dungeon, and be exposed to sun and air in his cage.

In spite of the vacancy of the Holy See, an interdict was obtained against the city of Cologne, and all the clergy were required to withdraw from the town,

and all divine functions and the administration of the sacraments to cease.

After the archbishop had lain six months in bonds, Albertus Magnus, formerly Bishop of Ratisbon, visited the imprisoned prelate and urged him to come to terms with his gaoler. The archbishop refused, till Albert was able to show him that the cathedral chapter—and above all, one of the canons he had specially trusted, and who had been sent to Rome on his behalf—were not inclined to see him liberated, and had, in fact, been in negotiation with his enemies to obtain a continuance of his imprisonment. This so exasperated the archbishop that he consented to consider the terms proposed to him, and Albert then sought the Count of Juliers and urged him to concession. At length, in the spring of 1270, the archbishop was released, and entered Cologne in pomp—with, however, a sullen brow—and at the Church of St. Maria ad Gradus removed the interdict, swore to respect the liberties of the city, and forgave the Colognese the death of his brother.

From thenceforward he kept his word. It has been said that his former conduct was due to the ill-advice of his brother; but he was not a weak man, to be led into crimes through feebleness, and nothing can excuse his breach of faith again and again. Thenceforth the city had nothing to fear from his immediate successors. Siegfried of Westerburg, who followed him, did not lack the desire to renew the contest, but his power was broken in a long series of campaigns, carried on by him against the princes whose territories adjoined

his own. He was involved in the contests about the succession to the heritage of the county of Limburg; on one side were ranged the Archbishop of Cologne and the Counts of Guelders and Luxemburg, on the other the Bishop of Liége and the Duke of Brabant. In the battle of Worniegen, in 1288, eight thousand men lost their lives, and Siegfried of Cologne was taken prisoner.

Other instances of proceedings similar to that of these Bishops of Cologne might be multiplied, from Mainz, from Strasburg, from Liége, but one more only shall be quoted from another part of Germany.

Burkhard III. Archbishop of Magdeburg, for some unknown reason, stood high in the favour of the Pope, Clement V., from whom he received the pall in 1308. His reign of eighteen years was one succession of contests with the cities in his archdiocese. Of all the German prelates, he was the only one who persecuted the unhappy Templars that had been condemned by the Pope. Burkhard had all those found in his lands suddenly arrested, and had them burned to death, one by one, every day. He sold to the town of Halle his right of trusteeship over estates belonging to minors; but no sooner had he pocketed the money than he resumed the right. The town appealed to the Pope, and he was forced to abandon the trusteeship.

Although the city of Magdeburg had got the right of free trade assured to it by many imperial briefs, he built the castle of Hohenwarta, near the gates, and exacted toll of all merchandise that passed along the

road. The citizens resented this and levelled his castle to the ground. In revenge he besieged Magdeburg, and called the Margrave of Meissen to his assistance; when, however, the Margrave declined to help, the Archbishop raised the siege, but beset all the roads with armed men, who plundered the merchants bringing their wares to the town. Finally, through the intervention of the Margrave of Brandenburg, a treaty was concluded, whereby the citizens promised to pay a large sum of money, and the archbishop undertook to desist from harassing them. No sooner, however, had he received the money, than he built several robber-holds round Magdeburg, especially the strong castle of Grossensalza, commanding the ways, imposed fresh tolls, drove away the cattle of the citizens, and cut down or burnt their forests, and he issued a sentence of excommunication against the city and all the canons who took part with the citizens. He fell, unforeseen, into the hands of the citizens, and was placed in a cage made of strong oak bars, and there held confined till he swore to restore all their privileges, destroy his castles, and not revenge his detention. To show that he was in earnest, he received the sacrament as a pledge. He was thereupon released and escorted to his palace with a guard of honour. No sooner, however, was he in security, than he declared that his oath had been wrung from him by force, and was invalid, and he placed the city under interdict. The citizens again sought reconciliation, and declared their readiness to pay him a thousand marks of silver, if he would desist from his vexations. To this he agreed,

received the money, and then declared that he was unable to remove the interdict, that could alone be effected by the Pope. A deputation was sent to the apostolic see, and the Pope at once saw his opportunity of obtaining some plunder. He agreed to remove the sentence if the city would pay him two thousand marks. To this also the Magdeburgians consented. The constant warfare, the enormous exactions they had been forced to pay, had, however, impoverished the city, and a famine set in. The archbishop stopped all the roads, and would suffer no victuals to be conveyed into the place till he was paid another three hundred marks.

He dealt with Halle as he had with Magdeburg, and so also with the other cities in his diocese. He was moreover engaged in incessant hostilities against the neighbouring princes, and in quarrels with the chapter of his cathedral. He observed no oath that he took, tore up a treaty as soon as it was made, regarded no rights, and all efforts used to reduce him to peace were unavailing. Matters went, at length, so far that his chapter declared against him, and threatened to levy troops against him, if he would not leave them unmolested. Finally the towns of Magdeburg, Halle, Burg, and Halbersleben combined with the Count of Mansfeld, and took an oath to capture the archbishop and not release him again. After this agreement had been made, he was lured into the city by some of the citizens, in whom he placed confidence, and was seized. To protect him from the fury of the populace, the burgomaster took

him under his charge; then the archbishop sent to the cathedral chapter to require them to enter into negotiations with the town council for his release. They declined to interfere. Then the prelate was committed to the common prison for ordinary malefactors. There he managed to communicate with some of his friends, who introduced wine among his guards and made them drunk. The archbishop attempting to make his escape during their intoxication, one of the guards, less drunk than the rest, started up, stopped his way, and when the prelate attempted by force to break past him, he struck him on the head with an iron ring, so that he fell dead on the ground.

The corpse remained unburied in the prison nearly a twelvemonth, and the city councillors endeavoured to conceal his death. When, however, it became known, the Pope placed Magdeburg under an interdict, and the Emperor under the imperial ban. It cost the city enormous sums to obtain release from the excommunication and the ban. The successors in the see endeavoured to obtain the canonization of the archbishop as a martyr, but failed.

These examples must suffice to illustrate the relation in which the princely prelates stood to their sees, and these go far to explain the enthusiasm with which the citizens rose against them, when Luther gave them the excuse of religious reformation.

We have already alluded to the manner in which the great bishops were mixed up with the political contests that tore the heart of Germany, and filled it

at times with despair and humiliation. But we have not given any example, or none with anything approaching to fulness, excepting that of Anno of Cologne, and his case hardly illustrated the way in which the bishops were mixed up in the contests of rival emperors. The wretched and shameful story of the revolt of Henry V. against his father might have been told, or the contest for the succession after the death of Frederick II., but we will take briefly the story of the election of Adolf of Nassau, and of his successor, Albert of Austria, because it was characteristic of all—and one prelate, Gerhard II. of Mainz, was mixed up with both. The Archbishops of Mainz were arch-chancellors of the realm, and when the throne was vacant, it was their duty to convoke the electors to choose another king ; moreover, the archbishops had the first voice in the electoral college.

This duty devolving on the archbishops, and their august position, gave them great influence in the election, and on many occasions they were thus enabled to direct the choice to the advantage of the empire when they found the princes full of envy of each other.

But no archbishop exercised his influence so openly as Gerhard II. who occupied the throne of Mainz from 1288 to 1305. He belonged to the family of the Counts of Epstein, and was a man of great energy. He did what was no longer usual with these proud prelates, he made his visitations of the diocese in person, and held three great synods of the clergy, in 1292, 1293, and 1301. He granted to the town of

Erfurt the right to coin its own money, and he farmed to it the market tolls for eleven years, for the sum of a thousand marks of silver.

According to ancient usage, the Germans, at the election of a king, were inclined to bestow the crown on a member of the family that had reigned hitherto, so long as a suitable representative was to be found. And this was observed regularly till the extinction of the house of Hohenstaufen. The opposition kings set up by the Popes never met with popular support and general recognition. When the Hohenstaufen race came to an end, and indeed whilst the last emperors of the stock still flourished, the electors had been urged by the Popes to use their privileges of election in other interests than those of the realm, and consequently most of them sold their votes, after William of Holland's death, to the highest bidder. But the evil was so gross, the disadvantage to the empire so great, that it was impossible to continue this disgraceful traffic of the crown ; and some of the electors had sufficient conscience to consider the weal of the realm rather than their private emolument. After the happy result of the election of Rudolf of Habsburg, it seemed certain that his son would succeed him, and that the crown would remain in the Habsburg family ; and so it would have happened, had not the electors feared Duke Albert of Austria, the son of Rudolf, on account of his great power, and hated him for his harshness and ambition ; and if the Archbishop of Mainz had not proposed to them a man in whose name he reckoned on governing the realm.

The man whom he proposed was his kinsman, Count Adolf of Nassau, a gallant knight of small estate, who never would have dreamed of elevation to the crown of Germany had he not been assured by Gerhard that he would obtain it for him. It was precisely the insignificance of Adolf which made him a suitable candidate in the eyes of the archbishop; he believed he was a man whom he could direct as he willed, and that through his election he would be able to reap great profit for himself and for his see.

To reach his ends, Gerhard alarmed the several electors by assuring them that personal enemies of theirs stood a great chance of being chosen. The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Saxony, allied to the Duke of Austria, would not have refused him their votes, had not Gerhard assured them that, should Albert be raised to the throne, he would not feel himself bound to pay over to them the dowers of their wives, so notorious was his selfish greed, which aimed only at self-aggrandisement. When these princes, rendered uneasy, asked the archbishop whom he proposed, then he informed the Elector Palatine that the most promising candidate was King Wenceslas of Bohemia, and to the Elector of Saxony he said that all eyes were turning to the Duke of Brunswick. This alarmed both so seriously that they were ready to follow his counsel. In like manner, he dealt with the others, and finally summoned the electors to Frankfort, where he asserted that the name of Count Adolf of Nassau had been miraculously revealed to him from heaven as that of the man whom the college should

elect. The princes acquiesced, and elected the Count of Nassau.

This election excited general amazement. Duke Albert of Austria had reckoned on the crown. The newly chosen king had not even the funds wherewith to pay the cost of his coronation, nor the credit to borrow the sum. Therefore Archbishop Gerhard borrowed ten thousand marks of the citizens of Frankfort on his own security for his kinsman.

For the assistance he had rendered Adolf, the archbishop demanded exorbitant returns. He exacted of the new king the judicial rights over several districts, the Bachau and Seligenstadt, the Stewardship of Mühlhausen and Nordhausen, right of toll at Lahnstein, the imperial rights over the Jews at Mainz, and over six districts in the archdiocese, and repayment of the sum borrowed to pay the expenses of the coronation. Adolf granted these things, but when the archbishop showed his intention of managing the realm through him as his puppet, he resisted; and to his dismay, Gerhard discovered that in Adolf lay a force of character and independence which he had not expected. His disappointment knew no bounds; he was filled with rage against the man he had elevated to the throne, although his kinsman, and with incredible malignity resolved to accomplish his overthrow. As one day Adolf refused him some demand, the archbishop is reported to have said scornfully, "Well, we will see if I do not keep another emperor in my pocket." He worked in the same underhand manner against Adolf as he had before to win his elevation, and when he considered

the opportunity was come, he called his confederate electors to Mainz, and there held a court upon the Emperor in his absence, and proclaimed him dethroned. This deposition was unconstitutional, for the Electors of Cologne, Trèves, and the Palatinate were not present. The assembled princes then elected Albert of Austria. Both Adolf and Albert levied armies, and met in battle between Gellheim and Rosenthal; Adolf was defeated and slain, and the archbishop fought against his own kinsman, on the side of Albert of Austria. He had gratified his revenge, but if he had expected to have reaped much profit by the elevation of the Duke of Austria, he was disappointed. The new king neither made over to him in reward any new privileges, nor allowed him any voice in the affairs of State. So disappointed was the archbishop that, when out hunting, he exclaimed, "I must see if I cannot puff another emperor out of this horn."

These sayings may have been attributed to Gerhard without his having uttered them, but at all events they express what was the temper of his mind. He now called together the electors of the Rhine and brought charges against Albert, as he had against Adolf, and declared Albert also deposed. But this proceeding roused general disgust, the Emperor marched into the territories of the see of Mainz, attacked the confederates, and forced them to submission. Gerhard made the most desperate resistance; but his entire archdiocese was occupied, conquered and plundered, and the haughty prelate was finally forced to submission.

XVI.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE CHURCH.

Peoples, like Individuals, have their Times of Childhood and Adolescence—The Renaissance, the Epoch when Germany passed out of Infancy—The Renaissance, the Revolt of Individualism—The new Birth of Paganism—Corruption of the Mediæval Clergy exaggerated—The Study of Classic Antiquity in Italy—It is carried into Germany—Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini — Humanism — Its rapid spread—Philosophy and Theology—Attempt to combine them in Scholasticism — The German Humanists — Reuchlin—Erasmus—Zwingli—Ulric von Hutten—Epistolæ obscurorum virorum—Mysticism—The double Nature in Man—The Function of the Soul—Forms of Mysticism—The German Mystics—Eckhart—Nicolas of Basle—Tauler—The Friends of God—The main Forces that brought about the Reformation, Humanism and Mysticism—Inevitable Consequences of the Revolt.

THERE is an epoch in the life of all, when childhood is past, and the restraints that have been imposed during childhood are relaxed, when the youth feels his strength, the blood is hot in his veins, his head is full of hope, his heart inspired with self-confidence. The world is open before him, and he sees it with new eyes; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the world, and the pride of life lay hold on him; he either submits to the former restraints, turns his face away from the

dazzling prospect, and bows to work, or else draws his lungs full of air, his eye glitters, his pulses bound, and he plunges into all the intoxication of pleasure that offers. Religion, self-control, prudence, the thought of the morrow, reverence for the past, all are cast away, in the rapture of the present.

And as with men so with peoples. They have their periods of infancy and of exuberant puberty. It was so with the Germans. The Middle Ages were to them the long period of national childhood, when they thought as a child, understood as a child, saw as a child ; they had simple faith in their teachers, meek submission to patriarchal government, and a childlike buoyancy of spirit that nothing could break.

Then, almost suddenly, adolescence came on them. The whole aspect of the world was changed to them, they threw aside all faith in what they had believed, they rose up with impatience against teachers whom they despised ; the laws, the customs, the habits of mediæval life were too strait for them. They would do away with their fetters, snap them as tow, as Samson snapped the cords that bound him, and like him when unbound, smite and slay those who had cast the cords about him.

No fact in the epoch of the Renaissance is so characteristic of its tendency as the dethronement of the national Teutonic laws, to replace them with Roman Law. The German codes were all based on the principle that the state, the *civitas*, is the unit ; they were socialistic, the individual was bound hand and foot with obligations to the

corporate body to which he belonged. There was no freedom under it; freedom was only conceivable within the narrow range allowed man after he had fulfilled, in every hour of the day, in every branch of activity, some duty to the state. But Roman law starts from the individual as the unit, and the commonwealth has no other claims on the individual except such as are essential for the preservation of the life and well-being of the corporate body. When a man is a child, he is one of the family, treated as a member, and has to conform to all the family rules, habits, and exactions; but when he becomes a man, his individuality asserts itself, and he only so far conforms as is needful for the maintenance of the tie.

The Renaissance was the emancipation of the individual. The very sculpture, the painting of the period declare it. In mediæval art the human form was subsidiary. It was represented, but only for ornamental purposes, to decorate the building, to serve as a prop on which to hang gorgeous brocades in a picture, or in a window. But at the Renaissance, sculpture, painting laid hold of the human form, and made of it the great object to which attention was to be turned. The statue, the figure of the man or the woman—nude probably, in defiant assertion that the individual body was deserving of admiration—that was what the artist aimed to represent, and on which to expend his utmost skill.

The Renaissance was the new birth of paganism.

The Mediæval Church—the Mediæval state—the Mediæval university—all alike may have treated, and

did treat, men as children after that they had grown too big, too strong, and too keen to endure such treatment. The Church has a double function, to insist on the individual responsibility of man to his Maker, and on his responsibilities to his fellow-men, members of the same ecclesiastical commonwealth. It is possible—it would be hard to prove it—that the Mediæval Church neglected too much the enforcement of the first of these duties, and laid undue stress on the latter. If it did so, it did so because the teachers in the Mediæval Church were imbued with the doctrine of the times in which they lived, a doctrine impressed upon them on every side, by every political and social institution, that man is an unit in a great body, a link in a vast net, and that he is, like such a link, nothing except he forms part of the whole. So it may have been—though it would be hard to prove it,—but unquestionably the epoch of the Renaissance was the surging up of the individual in revolt against all restraints, and undoubtedly he carried individualism to a far greater extravagance than ever did the Church carry altruism.

It has been asserted with such iteration that the very frequency of the assertion has been accepted as evidence of its substantial truth, that the clergy of the Catholic Church in Germany before the Reformation, and the monks and nuns, were utterly and irremediably demoralised ; that the laws of God were not taught the people, and were not enforced by the example of those set before them as teachers ; gross, contemptuous abuse of the clergy and of the religious

orders has been quoted and harped on as though all abuse was rigid statement of fact. We are shown what a complete revolt the Renaissance was against all that religion enjoined, and it is argued that the excesses of the Renaissance give evidence how completely the Catholic Church had lost her hold over the consciences of men. But, on the contrary, we rather hold that the swing of the pendulum in one direction gives us a means of judging the arc described by the pendulum on the other side. The flaunting, the audacious vice, and defiance of all that the Church had held sacred, which took place at the Renaissance, is rather to be taken as a proof that the Church had done her duty, had impressed the sacred obligations of the decalogue and of decency on men; the Renaissance was the revolt against these restraints, by men who were pagans at heart, and would not endure them. They would not deny themselves in this world so as to be blessed in the next, they would bathe in pleasure here, and die as dogs in the end.

The Renaissance will never be understood unless it be looked upon in this light. It was not a new birth in one particular only, in scholarship, in art, in science. It was a new birth in every particular, in religion, in the laws; it was a revolt of the individual man against society, which had, perhaps—which had, undoubtedly—exacted of him more than was its due. And the Reformation is not to be considered apart from the Renaissance. It was but the same spirit of revolt, the revolt of the individual against society in another department. It was the

casting away of bonds and restraints, here of more, there of less—it went so far in extreme instances as to cast away even the moral law. The Renaissance was checked, it never was able to carry its principles to their logical conclusion, because, if it had, anarchy and the wreck of mankind in utter profligacy would have been the result, and in the domain of religion, the reformers threw down the Bible in the way of the wild enthusiasts breaking out of the Church, and that stayed all save those drunk with mysticism who set their inner light above the revealed word.

It has been asserted that the Mediæval Church was a sink of iniquity. All that was corrupt came as scum to the surface, was talked of and chronicled ; but the humble annals of the poor parish priests, their steady continuance in well-doing, their diligent discharge of their duties, all these were unrecorded. Of these none took note: such things are written in the Book of Life, the Book of Remembrance kept in the heavenly archives, and not in the chronicles of this world. If, four or five hundred years hence, writers desired to discover what manner of men we were at the close of the nineteenth century, and were to measure us by the records of the police courts and the gossip of the society papers,—they would describe us as it pleases those who glorify the Reformation to describe the Church before that revolution.

The German people were found by the reformers to be full of piety, moral in life, and zealous for religion. How came that about? How, but that

their former teachers had done their duty and had fed and quickened true religion in their hearts. How then, it is asked, was it that there was such a revolt against the Catholic Church? The revolt was against the Pope and against the Bishops, not intentionally against the doctrines of the Church and its sacraments. The doctrines went down like a pack of cards before individual freedom, which allowed every man to believe anything he had a mind to, and placed no restraint upon him; and the sacraments fell into disrepute, when every man justified himself by an ecstatic emotion. We shall return to this in the following chapter. In this we will consider the Renaissance as the emancipation of the individual, and how this took place, and how it acted in various departments of human activity.

The study of classic antiquity in Italy had begun in the fourteenth century to be pursued with zest. The study bred enthusiasm, not only a literary enthusiasm for the style, the language, the genius of the classic authors, but for their religion, their manner of considering life, their freedom from scruples, and what was admired was pursued. The Pagan gods and goddesses returned to the temples, the buoyant confidence with which the ancients enjoyed life was aroused, and restraints moral and theological were laid aside. It became fashionable to think as a heathen man, to talk as one, and to live as one. In vain did Dante with his truly Christian soul raise the vernacular poetry to a level never reached by any pagan of old, his "Divine Comedy" was not so much to the taste of

the literary men of Italy as the Decameron of Boccaccio, a work strewn with paganism, in which the clergy and the religious were held up to mockery. It has been supposed that the stories he and his imitators tell of profligate clerks are taken from the life. Nothing of the sort; they are to a large extent old tales, told of Indian Brahmins, then told of Mussulman dervishes, brought into Europe by the Crusaders and by the Saracens of Spain, and served up afresh, the fakirs, the Brahmins being turned into Christian priests and monks.

These stories made men laugh; they laughed because they felt the ties of religion irksome, and wanted an excuse to shake them off. The cultured classes became indifferent and frivolous, and ready to laugh, not only at the teachers of religion, but at the most sacred things of religion. Luigi Pulci, in his poem of the great Morgant, made mock of the Christian mysteries under the thinnest disguise. The cultured world laughed. Machiavelli wrote a comedy, the Mandragola, in which he made scoff of casuistry, and put into the mouth of a pious priest the most ridiculous excuses for the indulgence of the passions. It was performed before the Holy Father, who laughed and applauded. In that great Italian rebirth of paganism, Christianity would have disappeared, cast aside altogether, but for the profit which it brought in to the pagan-hearted pontiffs and the curia. That alone saved the outer shell of the Church in Italy rom coming down in ruin.

The Germans were much in Italy, they drew inspira-

tion from Italy, and the rampant paganism there affected the hearts of the Germans who aimed after culture. No man did more among the Germans to encourage the love of classic literature, and with that the light and wanton view of life, than Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., an Italian in his passions, under no severe self-control, his morals those of his age and country. He became secretary to the Emperor Frederick III. who created him his poet laureate. At the council of Basle he had collected a circle of Germans about him whom he inspired with enthusiasm for classic study. Among his closest friends was Gregory of Heimsburg from Franconia, one of the clearest heads of his time, and one of the most conspicuous and energetic forerunners of the Reformation.

Heimsburg planted Humanism in Nürnberg, where it took root and flourished, and where as a man of culture he contested with the obscurantists to his death the right of intellectual freedom, and as a statesman fought the particularists for the unity of the Empire.

In consequence of his efforts, and the impulse given by Æneas Sylvius, the study of the classics made great advance in Germany. It was admitted frankly that the Germans could only be emancipated from barbarism by the study of humane letters. Moreover, wherever this study struck a root, there it throve in exuberance of life. It became defiant. It did not satisfy itself with the rejection of scholastic authority and method. It went further. It demanded that science should be freed from the restraint of the

school and should be brought into the midst of and energise actual life. The humanists claimed for the intellect a freedom that had never before been allowed it in the Mediæval Church, and they represented this freedom as a necessity of existence for the intellect, without which it degenerated into pedantic drivel. Scholastic philosophy had done its work, occupied and exercised men's minds and had prevented them from drying up, but scholastic philosophy was unable to meet the exigencies of men's intellects at the close of the fifteenth century. To understand the situation it is necessary in a few words to give a description of the origin and purpose of scholasticism.

A revolt of the reason against current traditional doctrine had taken place in the solitude of the monasteries. In the ninth century the German monk, Gotschalk, asserted predestination in its most rigid and monstrous form, such as was long after asserted again by Calvin. He endured the scourge and death in prison for the sake of his opinion. The presence of the Saracens in Spain offered an incessant provocation to the restless intellect of the West to indulge itself in daring exercise. Arabian philosophy, unseen and silently, diffused itself throughout Europe. From Eastern sources John Erigena had learned the doctrine of the Eternity of Matter ; he lapsed into Pantheism, accepting the Oriental ideas of Emanation and Absorption not only as respects the soul of man, but likewise as respecting all material things. In Peter Abelard the insurgent spirit of the times spoke out most clearly. No subject was too profound or too sacred for

his daring investigation, and on nothing that had been revealed did he scruple to sit in judgment, and test its claims by the light of reason.

It was necessary for those who held to the revelation of Christ to make an effort to meet these rationalists. They did so in two ways. S. Bernard of Clairvaux and Albert of Nogent asserted that the things of God were to be explored, not by the reason, critically, but by the soul, contemplatively. The written Revelation was explained by continuous revelation vouchsafed to the seeking soul. They founded Mystical Theology. But on the other hand, in the universities of Paris and Oxford, an attempt was made to reconcile Aristotle with Scripture and the canons of the Church, and with written and traditional theology. They founded Scholastic Theology.

Each school aimed at the same end, each sought to save doctrine from rationalism, the former by denying to reason its right of question, the latter by enlisting reason in its aid. We shall consider Mysticism presently. What now occupies us is Scholasticism. The schoolmen accepted the words of Scripture and the decisions of the Church just in the same way as Euclid lays down certain axioms and definitions, before he attacks a single problem. When the schoolmen had thus stated what were their grounds, then they began to reason on them. Aristotle was assumed as a sure guide in all matters of secular knowledge, and the methods of Aristotle were followed in the discussion of matters of theologic revelation. Scholastic theology was pursued with enthusiasm, it occupied

minds, diverted them from dangerous questions, and it raised round orthodoxy an immense and impenetrable bulwark of what seemed to be profound learning. By this means it put off for a while the inevitable day in which philosophy and theology were to be brought into mortal conflict once more.

Philosophy, said the schoolmen, was the handmaid of theology, "*Philosophia theologiæ ancella*," an assertion certain to be resented when men's hearts were turned from Christianity and intoxicated with paganism.

The schoolmen had directed their energies to the elucidation of those paradoxes which either did, or seemed to lie in the doctrines of the Church, and thence there grew up a vast thicket of subtleties and distinctions, some useful or necessary, but some entirely worthless or mischievous. With the greatest diligence every question in theology, in science generally, was debated and concluded upon ; and not theology only, but all knowledge of the universe was built up upon such a substratum by such methods. When every other matter was exhausted, then discussion was invited on, and trifled about questions gross and monstrous, such as cannot even be mentioned without a shudder. Scholastic teaching had in the century of the Renaissance become formalism dead and rotten. The mind was driven round and round in the same mill, not grinding corn, but threshing chaff. When revolt came it was as complete as it was inevitable. Those who revolted rebelled, not in the interests of religion, but of paganism ; it was a revolt of the vigorous, living

human intellect against the depraving influence of useless routine. That gave it its cogency and its promise of victory. The scene of the conflict was laid in Germany. Rudolf Agricola, called to Heidelberg in 1482, gave to the studies in that university the new direction and impulse. In Würtemberg worked John Reuchlin (1455-1521), a philological genius, who not only became an enthusiastic student of the classic Latin and Greek authors, but also broke ground as a Hebrew scholar. Conrad Celtes (born 1459), the discoverer of the only known text of Roswitha, lived a wandering life, but wherever he settled for a time there he stirred up a passion for classic studies, and a revolt against scholasticism. With astounding rapidity the love of humane studies spread throughout Germany, and an intellectual net was thrown over it; the connection of minds was preserved by incessant correspondence among the learned, and by their migration from centre to centre. Along the Rhine, in Switzerland, in Swabia, in Franconia, Bavaria, Austria, Saxony, in the lands on the Baltic, everywhere sprang up humanistic schools and societies, bent with heart and soul on expelling the native barbarism and establishing culture in its room.

In Nürnberg lived Wilibald Pirkheimer (b. 1470), who used his hereditary wealth and his patrician position of authority and influence in his native city to advance the cause of Humanism by forming a library of all the classic authors he could procure from Italy, and by throwing himself, pen in hand, into the conflict with the obscurantists. To Würzburg the

cultured bishop Laurence von Bibra called the learned Abbot Trithemius, who had been forced to leave his cloister of Spanheim, driven away by his disorderly monks. Other illustrious humanists were Adelman of Adelmannsfelden at Eichstadt, John Regius Æstikampianus, who taught in Basle, Heidelberg, and Mainz; John Wimpheling, a diligent historian, and Erasmus (1465–1536), born in Rotterdam, who settled in Germany and became so identified with his adopted country that he was coupled with Reuchlin as constituting "the two eyes of Germany." Erasmus had the wit to see the follies of the scholastics, and the love for the new studies to make him pursue them with avidity, but he was not disposed, like so many of the other humanists, to cast Christianity overboard. With the rest, he partook of the feeling which filled the ancients, love of the world and of enjoyment of life, but he could not and would not turn his back on Christ and give his hands to the old gods of heathendom. A man of another sort was Ulrich of Hutten, a son of a noble Franconian family, born in 1488. He was a genial, witty, unscrupulous man, hating all the restraints of religion and morality, and garnished with a good deal of learning, and he had a ready hand at the pen. He died of a shameful disease brought on by his pagan vices; but he has ever been looked on as one of the great champions of the Reformation, inasmuch as he was a destroyer of the reverence that had been given to the Church and to her doctrines. Different, altogether, from Erasmus was Ulrich Zwingli (born 1484), a man of clear and logical mind, of very dis-

reputable life in his early manhood, which had so tainted his heart that love and piety had almost died out of it, and his cold, clear intellect was unsoftened and uncontrolled. At heart a Pantheist, he became the reformer of religion at Zürich. He reduced Christianity to a form of faith from which, logically, Christ might very well have been omitted. The form was complete without Him. He died fighting heroically for his adopted state, in the battle of Kappel (1531).

Erasmus poured forth the vials of his caustic wit over the scholastic method in his 'Praise of Folly,' 1508; but the death-blow was dealt the system by the 'Epistolæ obscurorum virorum,' the first part of which appeared in 1516, and the second part the following year. This epoch-making work purposed to be a collection of private letters sent from the leaders of the scholastic party to one Ortuinus Gratius, professor of Theology at Cologne. They have been attributed to Hutten, John Krotus, Peter Eberbach, and Hermann of Neuenar. The second series was almost certainly by Hutten. Hutten was determined to ruin, if he could, a converted Jew, Pfefferkorn, and his champion Gratius, who had translated his pamphlets into Latin. To effect this most completely he devised the rascally—no other word will suffice—scheme of publishing a number of letters to Gratius from friends, professors, and monks. These letters were, of course, forgeries; and the work was done with such brutality as not to spare Gratius' mother and Pfefferkorn's poor wife, in the filth that

was poured forth on them. By means of these letters Hutten designed to hold up the clergy, the monks, the scholars of the Catholic Church to the derision of mankind. They were so clever, so unspeakably nasty, that they delighted some and defiled the minds of others, and effectually shook confidence in the intelligence and morality of those held up to ridicule.

We will now turn back to the Mystics, and consider their influence on the Reformation.

The Imperial eagle is represented with two heads turned in opposite directions. So has man in his very being two tendencies, two natures, that are contradictory ; one, the spiritual, that strains after the unconditioned, the limitless ; the other, the physical that lives in the midst of conditions and limitations, and cannot exist without them. The spirit is ever aspiring after emancipation from all ties. It would hold direct communion with God, learn from Him immediately all truth, receive from Him immediately all grace. It is like Dædalus soaring on waxen wings, which melt in the blaze of the divine light, and the dazzled spirit falls precipitate.

When Christ assumed human nature, then He united the physical and the psychical, the human and the divine, matter and spirit, not henceforth to be dissociated the one from the other, in His Church. Every extension of the Incarnation carries with it this stamp of duality. The authority of Christ is in His ministry, His truth in His Church, His grace in His Sacraments. In true Christianity there are and

there must be outward form and inward spiritual reality, the one is not without the other. The outward form is nothing if the grace be not there, and the grace evaporates without the vessel to contain it.

This is a verity that the human spirit is reluctant to allow. It is impatient, it is proud, it kicks at outward forms, and would aspire to God without them; but to aspire to God without them is to run counter to the ground-doctrine of Christianity—the Incarnation of the Son of God.

The first Mystics of the Middle Ages, S. Bernard and S. Norbert, were filled with reverence for the Church, and held her doctrines with firm grasp; they sought illumination in spiritual ecstasy, not independently of these doctrines, but for the interpretation and unfolding of them and, they found personal application of them in spiritual experience. That in many, Christian life had degenerated into mere formalism is probable if not certain; but a formal obedience to the Divine command, and a formal observance of the sacraments was something: though not a very elevated type of spiritual life, it was perhaps as much as some dull souls were capable of attaining to. But other spirits, more elastic, more effervescent, asked for a superabounding spiritual effusion of illumination and nourishment. The Holy Scriptures did not satisfy their need of instruction, nor the Sacraments their requirements of nutrition. Some, in the vagaries of spiritual ecstasy believed they were enlightened on the history of our Lord, and

were made acquainted with a thousand details of His life unrecorded by the Evangelists. They supplemented the gospels with their revelations. Of such was S. Bridget. Others desired to attain through their elevation to God a sight into the future, and such became prophets ; we have an example in S. Hildegarde. Others again sought only the rapture of personal spiritual union with God, and sensible delight in that union. We have an extreme case in S. Theresa. Others sought light to guide them in their conduct in this life, and brought their acts, their thoughts, before the bar of a spiritual tribunal which they set up for themselves in the clouds. Such were the moral mystics. But on the other hand, others followed the method of S. Bernard, and sought enlightenment as to theologic doctrines, and such were the mystic theologians.

Now it is easy to see how that Mysticism, unless kept in severe control by the reason, may become drunk with self-conceit, and may lead to rebellion against all limitation, may, in a word, be a revolt against the Incarnation. It may, in its desire to be free for spiritual converse only, seek to undo all that was done for man, when God came down on earth and united the visible with the invisible, the outward form with the inward reality.

That seeking after sensible satisfaction in the elevation of the soul, such as S. Theresa sought, is very liable to make the ecstatic think that such a rapture is all the soul needs, and therefore to make it despise sacramental institutions. So also the soul

that in its transports conceives it hears the voice of God instructing it, wants no more the direction of a moral law; it does not ask for a Church as the depository of all truth; it finds out the truth for itself in direct intercourse with God. The spiritual faculty in man when in healthy condition is nicely balanced by the intellectual faculty. These are the two wings on which man can rise to God, but an attempt to reach the Divine presence by the use of one alone is doomed to failure. A purely rationalistic search after God is in its way as futile as one that is purely mystical.

As Scholasticism had found a ready home in the cloisters, it was inevitable that there also the mystical reaction against the dead formalism of thought should arise. The movement was most profound, most secret, and unconscious among those the most strongly under its influence. Rysbroeck of Cologne, Master Eckhart, John Tauler, Nicolas of Suso, are the names of those most conspicuous for their mystic fervour within the Church; but there broke out from it many wild fanatics, impatient of all moral and dogmatic restraint, governed only by the inner light of their exalted fancy that assured them they were bathed in the effulgence of the Deity.

Such were the Beghards, such the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who at the beginning of the 14th century almost got complete possession of Elsass. In the great cities rose a secret unorganised brotherhood, bound together only by silent, infelt sympathies—the Friends of God. This appellation

was a confession of revolt, a tacit assumption of superiority. God was, they held, to be worshipped everywhere, for He was everywhere present, His grace was everywhere diffused on all who sought it, and it was diffused through no outward and sensible media. This and kindred brotherhoods embraced all orders —priests, monks, friars, nobles, burghers, peasants; they had their wilder spirits, prophets and prophetesses; they respected the Bible, but they placed themselves above it. They cast out one clause from the Lord's prayer, they needed not to pray against temptation, for they had passed the condition in which, to them, sin was possible. Nine of their aphorisms were attributed, unjustly, to Eckhart in the bull of condemnation launched against his teaching by John XXII. The first was this, that man's will should be in such conformity to the will of God that if God desires that he should sin, man should commit sin unshrinkingly. The next was that the man who has his soul rightly disposed does not commit sin, though he may commit a thousand of those acts which are accounted as sinful.

These are deductions inevitably reached by thorough-going Mystics. By complete emancipation of the soul from the body, no acts committed by the body can corrupt the soul, and the soul by attaining to the light of God's immediate presence is placed above all law, which was enacted not as a guidance for the perfect, but for the imperfect. Eckhart never went so far; he remained within the bounds of Catholic faith and Christian morality. Nicolas of

Basle, one of the Friends of God, by means of ascetic exercises, believed he had attained to complete renunciation of the world, and to unclouded vision of God. He was incessantly engaged in leading others to seek the same end in the same way, and it was under his influence that Tauler of Strassburg (d. 1361) became so sincere a mystic. He believed that he had attained to regeneration by ecstatic devotion, but he wisely did not allow his fancy to question doctrines, he engaged himself in preaching the simple and broad principles of a good Christian life. "He who has read one of Tauler's sermons has read all," said Herder; but it was precisely this monotonous harping on the same topics that made him such a force. John the Baptist had but one topic, Repentance, and he shook the hearts of all who heard him. Religious men do not seek variety, they seek emotion; Tauler had mysticism enough to awaken and keep alive all the most passionate sentiments of religion, yet he spoke with a seeming clearness and directness, as if he were addressing the reason. Rulman Merswin, a layman of Strassburg, was another pupil of Nicolas of Basle. A remarkable book, the 'German Theology,' was secretly passed about and transcribed. Men started up on all sides, professing to derive their inspiration from God alone, or claiming the Bible and not the Church—the Bible, which each could interpret as he willed—as the sole exponent of the truth concerning God and man. Such were two main forces, very different in kind, very different in aim, that combined at the epoch of the Renaissance to overthrow historic Christianity.

The one was emphatically paganism, the rebellion of the intellect against the dogmatic teaching of the Church, on the one hand, and against Christian morality, on the other. The second force was mysticism, the rebellion of the spirit against all exteriorisation of religion, against the form of the Church, against the form of the priesthood, against the form of the sacraments. And in reality the one was as anti-Christian as was the other, for it was a revolt against the Incarnation. The two forces were arrested for a while by the authority of Holy Scripture, but only for a while; the absolute supremacy of the human soul over everything that impeded its complete emancipation was certain to assert itself speedily, and it did so after a while all over Germany in wild excesses. The absolute supremacy of the human intellect was also certain in time to assert itself. It has been slower in developing its antagonism to Scripture, but modern agnosticism and rationalism are the inevitable logical consequence of the intellectual uprising of the Renaissance.

XVII.

THE PRELUDE TO THE REFORMATION.

Necessity for the Reformation of the Empire—The Institution of Prince-bishops and Prince-abbots—Efforts made by Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, to strengthen and consolidate the Empire—Frustrated by Maximilian I.—The Love of the Germans for the Hohenstaufen family—They considered the Papacy guilty of the Extinction of that Family—Frederick II.'s Appeal to Christendom against the Pope—Intolerable Exactions of the See of Rome—Respect for the Apostolic Throne ceases—The Schism—John XXIII.—His abandoned Life—Sale of Indulgences—Council of Constance—Huss—Deposition of the Pope—He withdraws his Abdication—Election of Martin V.—Mistaken Policy—He sets himself to neutralise the Efforts of the Council—It dissolves—The Council of Pavia—The Council of Basle—Eugenius IV.—The Hussite Wars—Eugenius dissolves the Council—It refuses to be dissolved—He summons the Council of Florence—Failure and Dispersion of the Council of Basle—Confidence of Christendom in Councils shaken—Church and State—The Pragmatic Sanction.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE, before sealing the condemnation of any institution, pauses, and gives to that institution a chance of recovery. Again and again in the history of the world, of nations, of churches, is the parable of the fruitless tree repeated. The sentence is ready to be launched, but a reprieve of a year is granted, and fresh efforts to encourage the

tree to bear produce are made; only if these efforts fail, and this reprieve is resultless, is the axe laid at the root.

It was clear to the most liberal and enlightened minds that the Imperial power, the central axis of the whole German realm, was faulty, and that ere long the entire wheel would be shattered, unless it were strengthened materially at the centre, and unless the spokes should be made to fit more firmly into the axle-box.

It was also abundantly clear, not to the liberal and enlightened minds only, but to every man in Father-land with a grain of common-sense in his skull, that the institution of prince-bishops and prince-abbots was bad, irredeemably, radically bad, and must be got rid of. It was bad for the country, it was bad for the Empire, it was worst of all for religion. The minds of men in Germany had had forced on them the conviction that these princes were simply princes, and that their episcopal or abbatial office was an useless one. The cloak of ecclesiastical dignity was cast over the harness of a warrior. Let the reader visit the Cathedral of Mainz, and he will see there, ranged against the piers of the nave the monuments of the Archbishops. They are clad in armour, with a cope thrown over their shoulders and a mitre on their heads, they grasp a crosier with one hand and a sword with the other.

But the first and most crying need of Germany was a strong central authority. Ever since the fall of the House of Hohenstaufen, the imperial power had

become less and ever less effective. The great princes had established almost absolute independence, and the emperor was powerless to do anything without their consent. Germany had been allowed to slide back into the rudimentary elements of political organisation, out of which she had been lifted by the great Charles. And the self-esteem of the Germans would not allow them to admit that the fault lay with themselves. They—by their perverse persistency in maintaining race isolation, and enfeebling the central authority, had made Germany weak, when France had become strong. They saw what was indeed true, that the policy of the papacy had been to play off one prince against another, pursuing the traditional policy of the Roman emperors, who had fought against the barbarians by encouraging race hatreds, and embroiling one nation with another. They saw this, and deep in their hearts burned a rage against Rome that only wanted an opportunity to flare forth.

The sentence of God was to go forth against the Empire and against the Church, not to be put in execution all at once, and with destructive completeness, but with leisure, and piecemeal. The sentence was not carried out entirely against the Empire till 1806, when Francis II. laid down the crown of Charlemagne; nor that against the bishops till 1803, when after the Treaty of Luneville all the ecclesiastical benefices were confiscated.

But, before the storm broke on Germany that was to sweep over her and produce universal havoc, a

chance of regeneration was offered, and the offer came through a man of no ordinary parts, Berthold, Prince Primate of Germany, Archbishop of Mainz. He was a Count of Henneberg, and had been Dean of Mainz till, in 1484, he was elected to the Archiepiscopal throne. Before him, Gregory of Heimburg had exclaimed, "Woe to you, ye German princes, who give forth your unjust laws, and employ all manner of sophistry in order to shake yourselves free from the Imperial power, and to degrade the people, in order that you may seat yourselves on their necks as absolute tyrants." Berthold of Henneberg in 1486 obtained along with Haug of Werdenberg the formation of the "Swabian League," for the establishment of peace, and the reform of the Electoral College. At the Diet of Worms, in 1495, he, mainly by his force of character, prevailed on the members to grant a general tax for the necessities of the realm. Hitherto the emperor had had nothing in this way but the enjoyment of the revenues of such imperial domains as had not been given away. Every German worth a thousand florins was to yield to the crown one, every German worth 500 florins was to pay half a florin annually, and all five-and-twenty persons over fifteen, of whichsoever sex and whatsoever position in life, were to raise among them annually one florin. The revenue thus obtained was to serve for the support of an imperial army. Berthold went further. He held clearly before his eyes the consolidation of Germany into a constitutional monarchy, and with a parliament annually assembled

to control both the expenditure and the conduct of the emperor and the princes. He urged this with so much force that it was agreed that such a parliament should assemble every year on the 1st February. Moreover, he insisted that an Imperial Council should be elected, the president to be nominated by the emperor, the members to be chosen from among the electors, princes, and estates ; and that this council should be in continuous session, and hold in its hands the general government of the realm. This proposal alarmed Maximilian, and he consented to a council of very limited powers only. Hitherto the imperial councillors had attended the person of the emperor, but the newly-instituted council was to sit at Frankfort.

This was a very important step. Berthold felt that by such means alone could the empire be regenerated and the realm saved from ruin. But Maximilian was not the man to carry out the project. Caring only for his immediate object, to rush across the Alps into Italy at the head of an army, he disregarded the decisions of the Diet, interfered with the conduct of the council, and even neglected to collect within his own inherited lands the tax granted him. A great emperor would have seen that the fashion of the old world was passing away, that the old empire was breaking up, and that only by meeting the requirements of the age could his country become great, could it be saved from internal dissension, and the throne planted on enduring foundations. He saw none of this, he threw away his opportunities, and the

efforts of Berthold of Mainz were frustrated. On the 7th September, 1496, a diet again met at Lindau, and the Elector Berthold opened the assembly. With bitter words he reproached the princes for their indolent indifference to the welfare of the nation, their lack of patriotism, their want of forethought, and pointed out to them that those gains obtained at Worms were already jeopardised. The Imperial Council, unprovided with means, had dispersed, and only by his own personal efforts had he succeeded in reassembling it. At the conclusion, the Diet was able at least to congratulate itself that it had maintained the concessions won at Worms.

Berthold died in 1504, the last noble representative of those who among the imperial aristocracy had risen above the sordid self-seeking of the majority, to strive for the good of their country, the unification of the Germanic peoples under a strong, securely established imperial throne. With him were extinguished all hopes and all chances of a political regeneration of the empire. But, as all acknowledged, the Church needed reformation, just as did the Empire, and when men despaired of the reconstruction of the latter, they hoped to effect a regeneration of the former.

We have seen in the last chapter how that two utterly diverse and essentially antagonistic forces were engaged in furthering this reformation; these were Humanism and Mysticism. We have seen in earlier chapters how that the condition of the German Church was such as to make a reorganisation

necessary. We must now briefly sketch the state of feeling, the temper of the German people toward the Holy See, which led to the final and irrevocable revolt, and gave to Humanism and Mysticism that leverage which enabled them to prostrate historic Christianity in the dust.

The German people had loved and admired the Hohenstaufen princes. These were men of ability, force of character, and the princely faculty of winning hearts and inspiring confidence. They set before themselves a splendid ideal, and the German people believed that this ideal was attainable, and became enthusiastic for its accomplishment. But the incessant, the remorseless hostility of the popes—not always unwarranted—frustrated every attempt made by the Hohenstaufen to elevate the empire to the pitch of glory it had occupied under Charlemagne. The bitter words which Frederick I. and his successors uttered against Rome, found an echo everywhere in Germany. Rome was regarded with angry suspicion as the deadly foe of German well-being, and as a mere bloodsucker of the wealth and energies of the nation.

In a proclamation of Frederick II. to all Christendom against Gregory IX. the emperor declared that the pope was a pretended Vicar of Christ, who instead of following the example of Peter, the first head of the Church, brought about war in place of peace, wielded the sword and not the Gospel, and instead of renouncing the world, swallowed it and all its riches. He likened the pope to the red dragon

of the Apocalypse, to anti-Christ, to Balaam, who fought against the Lord's people. "The end of all is at hand. Under words smoother than oil and honey, Rome hides the rapacious leech. The Church of Rome calls herself my mother and nurse, and her acts are those of a step-mother. The whole world pays tribute to the avarice of the Romans. Her legates travel about through all lands, not to sow the seed of the Word of God, but to extort money. They do not spare the churches, nor the patrimony of the poor, nor the rights of the bishops. The primitive Church, based on poverty and simplicity, brought forth saints innumerable; she rested on no other foundation than that which had been laid by our Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans roll in wealth, and the Church, undermined, totters to its fall."

With the extinction of the Hohenstaufen stock these accusations were not forgotten; they were revived with fresh bitterness, because the Germans looked with such pride on the princes of that house: and in their sorrow of heart at their fall, laid the blame, and not altogether unjustly, at the door of the popes. The Mystics, rising on all sides, some out of the Franciscan order, took the Apocalypse in hand, and reading the signs of the times therein, made Rome to be the mother of harlots, the red beast, and the true Babylon.

Innocent IV. had no scruples in giving away the benefices of Germany to favourites who could not speak a word of German; he totally disregarded the rights of the chapters; and extended his protection

over the most unworthy, to shield them against the arm of justice.

Every ten years the demands, the exactions of the Papacy became more intolerable ; taxes for dispensations, for the preparation of bulls, Peter's pence, interference with the rights of bishops, called forth repeated and angry remonstrances that were disregarded. Then came the Avignon captivity, and the great schism. There were two, three popes simultaneously representing themselves as vice-gerents of Christ, all exacting money, and scattering abroad anathemas. The ecclesiastical benefices were all burdened, crushed beneath the taxation for the acknowledged pope. Not an appointment in the Church could be made, but the province was bled nigh to death to satisfy the pope and his cardinals and court. Crusades were proclaimed, the money collected, and taxed, if not wholly appropriated, by the papacy, and applied to its own ends, and not to the cause for which it was collected. The muttered dissatisfaction found vent in loud and insulting cries. The popes were openly charged with avarice and fraud ; they who should have been the guardians of the liberties of the Church, the maintainers of the authority of the canons, were denounced as the great robbers of the liberties and rights of the churches. The horrible profanities and scandals of the Papal court were noised everywhere, and everywhere respect, belief in the papal chair as the throne of the visible head of the Church, disappeared. The emperors, the princes, whose realms had been squeezed

as oranges, and drained of money to satisfy the papal thirst, were angry, because they needed the money for national purposes. The clergy, the prelates, were angry, because they were despoiled of a large fraction of their revenues. The people were angry, because they believed that the impoverishment and the incoherency of the empire were due to the pope.

In spite of the abasement of Avignon, and the ignominy of the schism, there was a buoyant, inextinguishable confidence in men's hearts that a reformation of religion was possible, if an end could be made to the scandalous divisions of the Church under rival popes.

The cardinals themselves summoned a council to meet at Pisa to end the schism. Christendom—Western Christendom—had looked on in disgust at two grey-headed pontiffs, each claiming to be the representative of Christ, charging each other with every crime, showing that neither had the slightest reliance on the truth, honour, justice, and religion of his adversary; letting all the world see that neither would scruple to take any advantage of the other—neither would hesitate at any fraud, or violence, or crime, in his contest for supremacy.

The council met, deposed both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and elected Alexander V. whose first act was to dissolve the council that had elevated him. As neither of the deposed popes would acknowledge the sentence of the council, the Christian world saw with dismay, and the irreligious with a sneer, three rival heads to the Church, each claiming absolute

allegiance and unlimited money. Alexander died the following year (1410), and the cardinals elected John XXIII. as his successor. To Benedict, in his need for money to maintain himself against Gregory, was attributed the enormous abuse of indulgences. Priests and friars laden with these lucrative commodities travelled through Germany into the northern kingdoms. On their arrival in a city they exhibited a banner with the papal arms, the keys of S. Peter, from the windows of their inn. They entered the principal church, took their seat before the altar, the floor strewn with rich carpets, and under awnings of silk to keep off the flies, exhibited to the wondering people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of bishops and priests, their precious wares. "I have heard them declare," says the biographer of John XXIII., "that S. Peter himself had not greater power to remit sin than themselves."

One of the returning merchants for the pope was seized by the legate of a rival pope at Bologna, and plundered of a hundred thousand florins. That legate at Bologna was Balthasar Cossa, now elected vicegerent of Christ as John XXIII. As papal legate at Bologna, his rapacity, his cruelty, his debaucheries had been almost without rival. Under his iron rule—he had wrested the city from the Visconti—day after day such multitudes of persons of both sexes were put to death on charges of treason and sedition that the population of Bologna seemed to be dwindling to that of a small city. Neither person nor possession was exempt from his remorseless taxation. Two

hundred maids, wives, and widows are set down as the victims of this infamous man's lust; and this we have from the pen of his own secretary. Yet this was the man raised to hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

Neither Benedict nor Gregory would resign. Then the Emperor Sigismund summoned a council to meet in Constance to effect, but more thoroughly, the task undertaken at Pisa. There were other matters to be considered and redressed beside the schism. More than half Bohemia was in revolt, Huss had proclaimed that the wealth of the Church was its curse, and he demanded that the chalice should be given to the laity. In some of his demands he was unquestionably wrong, but in the majority he was right. He had laid his finger on the source of weakness impairing the power of the Church in her work for Christ.

The council met in 1414, and the eyes of all Christendom were turned on it. The council placed itself above the three contesting popes. All Western Christendom was there represented. The council assembled with a noble task before it—to reform the Church, in head first, and then in members. Pope John XXIII. had reluctantly consented to the assembling of the council, and had promised to attend. But he was suspicious, jealous, and despondent. As he came down the steep Arlberg pass his sledge was upset; and as his attendants crowded round him to know if he were hurt, "No," said he; "but in the devil's name how come I to be here at all?" As he approached Constance, he muttered, "A trap—a trap

for foxes." He was, however, received with great deference, granted his own court, and he opened the council in person on November 5th, before the arrival of the Emperor Sigismund.

Till that arrival, John XXIII. dominated the council. It proceeded to hear and to condemn Huss. Huss had been given a safe-conduct from the emperor. In disregard of this the council had him arrested, imprisoned, and it precipitated his trial. His condemnation of the wealth of the Church was the cause of his judges being resolved on his destruction.

The hierarchy of Germany was not as well represented at Constance as might have been supposed; the diocese of Cologne was vacant, and was represented, as was also Trèves, by a deputy. The Archbishop of Mainz entered Constance at the head of a splendid retinue, in military attire, with helmet, cuirass, and iron boots. The total number of clergy present, not indeed all at one time, was four patriarchs, twenty-nine cardinals, thirty-three archbishops, about one hundred and fifty bishops, one hundred and thirty-four abbots, two hundred and fifty doctors of theology, and a hundred and twenty-five provosts and other superiors. On the arrival of Sigismund the question of the treatment of Huss was raised. The emperor was placed in difficulties. If he let Huss go, then the council would break up, and his only means of keeping it together was to suffer the execution of the man to whom he had given promise of safety. He yielded; Huss was burnt; and then the Council proceeded to deal with the head of the Church.

In spite of the remonstrances of John XXIII., the deputies of the two anti-popes were received by the council. And now the demand was made that all three should resign their claims, and that the council should elect a new head to the Western Church. John XXIII. sullenly refused. Then a memoir was presented to the council with a catalogue of the crimes committed by the pope. The more noble-minded of the Germans and the Poles recoiled from the scandalous exposure. They refused a public inquisition into the articles of accusation, as degrading to the Holy See. But when the pope heard of what had been produced, he was filled with panic. He summoned the cardinals about him, he denied some of the charges, he was constrained to admit others. He heaped rewards and honours on the bishops—he had already tried to buy the emperor with an offer of two hundred thousand florins—and then, quailing under the peril, promised to abdicate. A form of resignation of the papacy was drawn up, subjected to the most searching examination lest there should remain in it a loophole for evasion, and was submitted to John XXIII. He solemnly swore before God to abdicate in the terms proposed, before the entire assembly, then escaped to Schaffhausen, whence he wrote to the council withdrawing his resignation, and absolving himself from his oath. From Schaffhausen he fled to Freiburg in Breisgau, but was there seized and conveyed to Constance, where he was thrown into prison and forced once more to swear to his abdication. Lest he should again recant, he was

condemned to spend the rest of his days in confinement.

The council now hesitated awhile which of the two tasks imposed on it should first be undertaken—the reformation of the Church or the election of a new pope.

It decided on the latter course, and chose Martin V., a man of blameless life, and believed to be moderate in principles. Yet the very first act of Martin on his elevation was to proclaim his intention to maintain intact the worst abuses. The papal Chancery had been the object of the justest resentment. It prepared and expedited all briefs and bulls. The Dataria was a branch of the Roman chancery. From it came all grants, gifts, and appointments to benefices. A network of exactions had been thrown over the Church by these offices; and under the titles of Reservations, Provisions, Dispensations, Annates, Commendams, Pluralities, Tenths, Exemptions, Indulgences, money was extorted from all Western Christendom. Loud demands had been made for the reduction of these charges, if not for their total abolition. By the brief published by Martin V. on the very day of his election, this whole tissue of exactions was adopted as the irrepealable law of the Church, every expectation of redress from an intolerable grievance was cut off. The council might attempt the reform of the members, but must not touch the head. The manner of the issue of this brief was no less dictatorial than its substance. It was a proclamation to the council

that it had given itself a master who would obstruct its every effort to redress grievances and to abolish scandalous abuses. It was the absolute resumption of the whole papal absolutism, which the Council had threatened and resolved to break down.

The council saw its error when too late. They were at the mercy of the pope. The emperor had fallen into the second place. In vain did the Germans present eighteen articles demanding immediate redress, limiting the number of cardinals, placing the papal power under restrictions as to collations to benefices, the collection of annates, etc. The pope agreed to sign separate concordats with the several nations represented, but as to a general restriction of powers, to this he would not consent. Baffled, its hopes disappointed, its efforts after reform frustrated, the council felt that it had best dissolve. It had sat for three years and six months—it came to an end, a wretched failure, as all acknowledged. The opportunity had come and was gone. And yet one concession had been wrung from the reluctant pope, that a general council should be summoned every five years to work for the much-desired reformation of religion.

In fulfilment of this undertaking Martin summoned a council to assemble at Pavia in 1423, but after its assembly it was transferred to Sienna. But few transalpine prelates were present, yet such as were made a renewed effort after reform. Martin, alarmed, under the pretext that so few prelates were present, dissolved the council, and summoned the

next to meet at Basle after the lapse of another five years.

In the meantime Bohemia was in a ferment. The Hussite wars had begun, and were carried on for fifteen years with a bitterness and ferocity on each side that filled with slaughter and rapine, not Bohemia alone, but the surrounding countries as well. On neither side was faith kept nor mercy shown. The pope called Christian princes and people together to butcher the heretics, and the Hussites committed the most revolting atrocities on priests and monks, nay, even on inoffensive peasants. The Hussites seemed untamable; the fear of them fell on all the German peoples on the confines of Bohemia. Austria, even as far as Hungary, the Lausitz, Saxony, were a waste. Leipzig escaped only through her fortifications. Coburg and Bayreuth were in flames; villages, castles, churches were pillaged and laid waste beyond the gates of Nürnberg.

Such was the condition of affairs when the council of Basle assembled, in July, 1431. Martin V. was dead. He was succeeded by Eugenius IV., a man utterly incapable of appreciating the signs of the times, and indifferent to the calamities that had fallen on Germany through years of internecine religious war. He had no intention of venturing his sacred person across the Alps; but a council not under his control was not one likely to favour papal abuses. He was absolutely resolved not to suffer any peaceful negotiation, any compromise to be entered

into with the Hussites, with whom he had already declared all treaties null and void.

As he understood that the council was resolved to negotiate with the Hussites, he issued a decree dissolving the council. The legate, Cæsarini, a shrewd and discerning man, who knew the state of affairs in Germany, at once addressed a remonstrance to the pope, and refused to prorogue the council. He was supported by the bishops and clergy present.

The condition, not of Bohemia only, but of Germany was serious. In Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Erfurt, Speyer, Würzburg, Strassburg feuds were raging between the citizens and their bishops; in Magdeburg and in Passau they had revolted and driven their bishops away. It was the same, or nearly the same, at Bamberg. Disaffection was spreading. The council disregarded the papal decree and proceeded to appoint committees to consider grievances and errors. Then they proclaimed that a general council was supreme over the Pope, and cited pope and cardinals before it to answer for their abuse of power. The Emperor Sigismund was in Italy, and he let Eugenius understand that the council might reckon on his support. The pope reluctantly, angrily withdrew his decree of dissolution, but maintained his haughty assertion that the council sat by his permission alone, and that what authority it had was derived from him. The council retorted that as a general assembly of the Church it was supreme over popes, and that it would not dissolve without having effected radical and capital reforms.

The pope, to enfeeble it, now summoned a council of his own to assemble at Ferrara, and this was transferred in 1437 to Florence. The papal legate appeared at Basle, and announced the convocation of a council at Florence, and required that sitting at Basle to remove thither. This was put to the vote, and rejected by two-thirds of the assembly. Then again the council issued their monition to the pope and the cardinals to appear before them at Basle within sixty days, and answer for their acts. At the end of these days they solemnly declared the pope contumacious, and suspended him from his office. On May 16th, 1439, it pronounced his deposition, but from this decisive act many of the bishops shrank, some from timidity, some doubting the competence of the council to take so extreme a course. Of Spanish prelates but one remained ; of Italian, but one bishop and one abbot ; of mitred prelates from other kingdoms only twenty ; their place was filled by clergy inferior in rank, but more zealous than their superiors for reformation. The edict was passed almost by acclamation. It deposed Eugenius as a notorious disturber of the peace and unity of the Church, as an incorrigible schismatic, an obstinate heretic, and as a dilapidator of the rights and possessions of the Church. It then proceeded to elect Amadeus of Savoy to be the new pope, under the title of Felix V. But the council had failed. The pope by his ingenuity of convoking a rival council at Florence had drained away all the Italian bishops ; and many others had gone thither, alarmed at the condition of hostility into which pope

and council had fallen, and at the determined attitude of the council at Basle. Felix V. never obtained general recognition, and he finally resigned his pretensions to the Apostolic throne.

Thus the council of Basle had passed away and had failed, as had that of Constance, doomed to failure through the inveterate hostility of the popes to reform, and their determined maintenance of those abuses which were driving Europe into a frenzy of revolt.

Sigismund, the emperor, had not the resolution, the foresight, the patience needed to sustain the fathers of the two councils in their efforts. Had he been a second Charlemagne, without question the whole of the Church in Germany would have shaken off the insufferable burden of the papacy, and would have reformed itself on sound Catholic principles. But such a reform would have needed something more than the casting away of the papal yoke, it could never have been carried through without the secularisation of the ecclesiastical principalities, and for this bold stroke Sigismund had not the nerve.

Christian Europe had placed its hopes in a General Council, as that which would purify and regenerate the Church.

The hopes, the enthusiasm of western Christendom had twice been excited to the belief that the long wished for reform was at hand, twice to be blighted. Then there settled down on the hearts of the people a sullen despair. From pope and bishops there was no remedy to be obtained. Whence was delivery to come?

The papacy had triumphed at Constance and Basle. The National Churches were no more. The popes proceeded to enter into agreements directly with the princes, compromises for sharing with them many of the privileges claimed hitherto by the councils for the Church itself. "Capitulations" was the term by which these agreements were called; of later years they have been entitled "Concordats."

The first of these capitulations was the so-called "Pragmatic Sanction" entered into in 1439 between the Pope and the Emperor. By its terms free canonical election was granted to the German bishoprics, and some reform was promised in the ecclesiastical judiciary, and a limitation of the papal exercise of excommunication. A further concordat was made in 1448 at Vienna, by virtue of which the Emperor Frederick III. surrendered to the Pope the annates and most of the bishoprics and abbeys and rich benefices, reserving to himself, in exchange, the patronage of six bishopries and a hundred benefices, and tithes in the abbeys and convents. The popes then entered into similar negotiations with the other German princes, bargaining away with them the rights of the German Church, using it as a mine to be exploited for their own advantage. The result was that in a very few years Germany was filled with Italian ecclesiastics, or the benefices held by Italians who were non-resident, sucked their revenues, and spent them at Rome.

XVIII.

THE REFORMATION.

Martin Luther—His sincerity—His Deficiency in Culture and in Political Insight—Luther's great Doctrine of Free Justification—Compared with the Catholic Doctrine of Justification—The dangerous Nature of his Doctrine—Indulgences; the Doctrine of—Luther's Appeal to the German nobility—Burns the Bull of Excommunication—The Diet of Worms—The Wartburg Retreat—Luther's System essentially one of Individualism — Nürnberg — Carlstadt—Spread of the Reformation—The Peasants' War—Further spread of Lutheranism—The Episcopal Jurisdiction transferred to the Princes—The Augsburg Confession—Political questions involved—Münzer defeated—The Anabaptists of Münster—Würtemberg, Basle, Geneva accept the Reformation—Brandenburg and Thuringia—The Schmalcald Union—The Holy Alliance—The demand for a General Council—Evaded, postponed by the Popes—The Council of Trent summoned—The Protestants refuse to acknowledge it—Calvinism—Zwinglianism—Lutheranism.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Eisleben in 1483, the son of Saxon peasants, and having in his nature all the toughness and stolidity of his stock. It is not our intention to give the biography of the Reformer; we will merely indicate some of the most important moments therein.

After a youth spent in the midst of disagreeable exterior relations and hypochondriacal sufferings, he became a monk. He was not brought into connection

with the Humanist movement; he never understood it, and disliked it, as was inevitable, for in heart and soul, he was convinced of the truth of Christianity, passionately devoted to Christ, and Humanism was but more or less avowed paganism. Luther's culture was low, it never rose above the level of the monastic schools. He had no taste for classic studies; he could not appreciate the charm of style, the beauty of the art and poetry of the ancients. And, in like manner, he was wholly deficient in the political faculty, yet was forced to meddle in the political affairs of his time, and when he did so, did harm. He had nothing of Berthold of Henneberg's insight into the needs of the German peoples, the weakness of the empire, and the necessity for political regeneration. What he could do to interfere with their regeneration, he did, out of ignorance. In heart and soul he was a theologian, and nothing else; he was no organiser. His great speciality, at all events his great force, consisted in this, that he introduced a new idea into German religion, which, like a crystal of dynamite, exploded and blew historic Christianity to fragments. The extraordinary energy of his character enabled him, when he had thus wrecked the Catholic Church, to gather the fragments into one mass, and pound them into a great block of conglomerate, that bore the marks of his hammer, and remained stationary, as he left it, for two hundred years and more.

After the interior storms that had distressed him, Luther believed that he had discovered firm ground

into which he could anchor, and this firm ground was the Augustinian doctrine of the absolute sinfulness of man, his incapacity for good, and his justification by free grace. Man is by nature so radically, so utterly corrupt, that he does not even possess a free will, his will being entangled and enchained by sin ; so that man can only think, will, and do what is evil. Nevertheless, man can attain to salvation by God's mercy, which gives justification, but this justification is obtained and sealed, not by any effort of man, not by any works of righteousness he may fulfil, but by a simple act of faith in Christ and His Redemption. This is the quintessence of Lutheran Theology.

It is necessary to compare this new doctrine with the Catholic doctrine of Justification, against which it was a revolt.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.	THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE.
1. Man, created by God, is good, but the good in him is thrown into disorder and weakened by the Fall.	1. Man, created by God, was good, but by the Fall is utterly depraved so as to have no good left in him at all.
2. Man is therefore in a condition of conflict between his inferior parts (the animal) and his superior parts (intellect and soul), and he must strive to bring the inferior into subordination to the superior.	2. Man is depraved in all his parts, and capable of doing nothing at all for his recovery. Every effort made by man is in itself absolutely worthless.
3. Christ came to redeem and restore man, by infusing	3. Christ came to redeem and restore man by a free gift

into him that grace by means of which his natural weakness may be strengthened, and the whole man may be developed in due balance of parts.	of justification, which makes man acceptable, just as he is, and without effort made by man on his part.
4. For restoration man requires repentance, which must consist of contrition for past transgression, and purpose of amendment. Thus Divine grace pardons, and assists; pardons the past, assists for the future.	4. Man's restoration is entirely independent of him. He is clothed upon with Christ's righteousness. Repentance is unnecessary, even dangerous, as tending to make man rely on his own works.
5. The vehicles through which grace is transmitted to man are the Sacraments.	5. Grace is assured to man by an emotion of Faith.*

Such, put summarily, is the fundamental doctrine of the Church on one side and of Lutheranism on the other. That the Lutheran doctrine entailed consequences, inevitably flowing from it, very dangerous to morals, and utterly destructive on the one side of the Church and of the Sacraments, on the other of the belief in the Incarnation, Luther did not see. That was left for Lutheranism to work out in the ensuing centuries.

In the first place, it is abundantly clear that if justification depends on a personal emotion of faith, every man judges of his own condition, and is his own justifier. When he believes himself to be in a saved

* See Dr. Mœhler's 'Symbolism, or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants;' also Dr. von Döllinger's 'Die Reformation,' 1848.

condition, none of his acts can damn him, acts however sinful cease to be sinful to him, because done when in a state of justification. The doctrine is therefore fatal to humility and paralyzing to the conscience.

In the next place, as man's justification depends on an internal emotion, external sacraments lose all significance and value. If external sacraments be valueless, then a priesthood is unessential. A visible Church is not a divine institution.

Through the ignorance of the monks and friars in Germany the main teaching of the Church on Justification and Restoration had become obscured, and a vast amount of formalism had sprung up, encouraged by the infamous traffic in indulgences, of which more hereafter. To some extent Luther understood it, but his animal nature was very strong, and the lifelong struggle against his carnal appetites, the disappointment at being unable ever to say, whilst life lasted, that the battle was over and done for, drove him to seek some ready and easy escape from the doubt lest he should fall away, and the fear lest by falling he might lose salvation. He needed assurance that, whatever might happen, whatever he might do, he was safe. *That* he found in his newly-discovered doctrine of Free Justification without Works. And yet some suspicion must have crossed his mind that it was a doctrine subversive of all Christian morality, for he endeavoured to fence it. *That* faith, he said, was alone true, which showed itself by exterior righteousness. But this qualification did

not correct the inherent vice of the system; it left every man to be his own judge.

Filled with conviction, and a real conviction it was, Luther could not endure the detestable sale of indulgences, and openly opposed it. The Catholic theory of indulgences was this. All sin entails guilt and suffering as inevitable consequences. The suffering does not always ensue in this life, it may be endured in the state after death.

Guilt that stains the soul is only put away by the blood of Christ, and only on condition of true repentance, which consists of contrition for the past and resolve of amendment. With the punishment for sin, *i.e.* suffering, it is otherwise; no repentance removes that. The popes claimed to be able, as key-holders of the future life, to be able to remit some of the suffering due for sin. It was an audacious claim, but in unquestioning times it was not disputed. It grew up, moreover, gradually. At the time of the early martyrdoms the martyrs gave letters of indulgence releasing from their full punishment those who were suffering from ecclesiastical condemnation, restoring those that were excommunicated to communion, and the bishops accepted these letters and acted on them. But this grew into an intolerable abuse, so that S. Cyprian fought against it. It had to be brought under control, and the popes claimed a right, on appeal, to revise the sentences of ecclesiastical censure pronounced by the bishops. Then grew up the doctrine of Purgatorial expiation, and was encouraged for the sake of the profit that could

be drawn out of it by unscrupulous priests and popes. The former reaped a harvest by saying masses for souls, the latter by selling dispensations to those who were, and knew themselves to be, deserving of many stripes. But the mind not unnaturally confounded guilt with the penalty for sin, and men came to suppose that an indulgence remitted sin, as well as the suffering due for sin. The consequence was a terrible moral deterioration of conscience, and that men before the Reformation came to regard sin with as much indifference as after the Reformation did those who accepted the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. Both Indulgences and Free Justification were on the same level, sapping the foundations of morality, and differed only in the way in which they undermined it.

Luther was led on from his opposition to indulgences into hostility against the papacy. In that he but expressed the feeling of all Germans; he gave tongue to that growing wrath which the papacy had fomented for centuries.

At first neither Luther, nor others, saw to what the contest about the indulgences would lead. The Humanists believed it to be only a scholastic disputation, and Hutten laughed to see theologians engaged in a fight with each other. It was not till the Leipzig disputation (1519) where Luther stood forward to defend his views against Eck, that the matter assumed a grave aspect, took another turn, and after the appearance of Luther's appeals "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," "On the Babylonian Captivity," and against Church abuses,

that it assumed national importance. All the combustible materials were ready, the spark was thrown among them, and the flames broke out from every quarter. Hundreds of thousands of German hearts glowed responsive to the complaints which the Wittenberg monk flung against Papal Rome, in a language whose sonorous splendour and iron strength were now first heard in all the fulness, force, and beauty of the German idiom. That was an imperishable service rendered to his country by Luther. He wrote in German, and he wrote *such* German. The papal ban hurled back against him in 1520 was disregarded. He burnt it outside the gate of Wittenberg by the leper hospital, in the place where the rags and plague-stained garments of the lepers were wont to be consumed. The nobility, the burghers, the peasants, all thrilled at his call. Now the moment had come for a great emperor, a second Charlemagne, to stand forward and regenerate at once religion and the empire. There was, however, at the head of the state, only Charles V., the grandson of Maximilian, a man weak where he ought to have been strong, and strong where he ought to have been weak, a Spanish Burgundian prince, of Romance stock, who despised and disliked the German tongue, the tongue of the people whose imperial crown he bore, a prince whose policy was to combat France and humble it. It was convenient for him, at the time, to have the pope on his side, so he looked with dissatisfied eyes on the agitation in Germany.

The noblest hearts among the princes bounded with

hope that he would take the lead in the new movement. The lesser nobility, the cities, the peasantry, all expected of the emperor a reformation of the empire politically and religiously. Hutten displayed his indefatigable energy in endeavouring to lead public opinion in this direction. He wrote his "Remonstrance to all Estates of the German Nation," he flung his flaming "Warning against the Papal Power" into the midst of the people. "Hitherto," said he, "I have written in Latin, now I cry to my Fatherland! The smoke that has blinded the eyes of the German nation we will blow away, that the light of truth may beam into them. Arise! you honest Germans, we have plenty of swords and halberts and armour, we will use these if friendly advice does not help."

But all hopes were dashed. Charles V. as little saw his occasion as had Maximilian. He took up a hostile position to the new movement at once. He was, however, brought by the influential friends of Luther, among whom first of all was the Elector of Saxony, to hear what the reformer had to say for himself, before he placed him under the ban of the empire. Luther received the imperial safe-conduct, and was summoned to the Diet of Worms, there to defend himself. He went, notwithstanding that he was warned and reminded of the fate of Huss. "I will go to Worms," said he, "even were as many devils set against me as there are tiles on the roofs." It was probably on this journey that the thoughts entered his mind which afterwards (1530) found their expression in that famous chorale, "Eine feste Burg

ist unser Gott," which became the battle-song of Protestants.

Those were memorable days, the 17th and 18th of April, 1521, in which a poor monk stood up before the emperor and all the estates of the empire, undazzled by their threatening splendour, and conducted his own case. At that moment when he closed his defence with the stirring words, "Let me be contradicted out of Holy Scripture—till that is done I will not recant. Here stand I. I can do no other, so help me God, amen!" then he had reached the pinnacle of his greatness. The result is well known. The emperor and his papal adviser remained unmoved, and the ban was pronounced against the heretic. Luther was carried off by his protector the Elector of Saxony, and concealed in the Wartburg, where he worked at his translation of the Bible.

In his contest with Rome it had been necessary for Luther to have some base from which to make his attacks. This he found in the Bible. The Church had made the pope, or rather, to be more exact, the pope had constituted himself, the centre of authority, source of all life, and the ultimate appeal as to all truth, moral and theological. It was an easy matter for Luther to discredit such a centre and source, it had discredited its own self most effectually as the protector and teacher of morality, and if it had failed in morals, it would most probably be faulty also in Theologic truth. But Luther must have some source of authority to pit against the Papacy, and he sought that in Scripture. As he made each man, by

an emotion of personal faith, his own justifier, so he made each man his own authority as to doctrine; as he read and understood his Bible so must he believe, each man was an infallible exponent of Scripture to himself, there was no external guide, no authorised interpreter, no Church as pillar and ground of the truth. Luther's entire system was that of dissolving all complex organisms into individual unities. He did not indeed see that he was doing so, but he did it. He strove hard to fix limits beyond which none might go, to build up a sort of a Church made up of broken fragments of the Church he had dashed to the ground. But there were other men who were more logical and further going than himself, Calvin, Zwingli, Carlstadt, Brenz, etc., who would not accept the monk of Wittenberg as their infallible guide any more than they would the Pope of Rome.

Nowhere so well, perhaps, as at Nürnberg can be seen what was Luther's idea of the limits within which reformation was to abide. In the church of S. Sebaldus, the seventeen altars are spread with white linen for daily mass, but mass is never said on them. The church bell rings for the sacred offices, but the doors are kept locked and no offices are sung. The perpetual lamp burns before the tabernacle, but the tabernacle is empty. Luther desired the outside shell to remain untouched, whilst extracting all the kernel. It was inevitable that other spirits more daring and remorselessly rational should go farther. Whilst Luther was in the Wartburg, Carlstadt proclaimed at Wittenberg the common priesthood of the

laity, which allowed every man to celebrate his own eucharist. He rejected baptism, denounced all sacred sculpture and painting, and proceeded at the head of a fanatical rabble to wreck all churches within reach. Carlstadt went further. He denounced all study and learning, because every Christian was illumined by the divine light internally, so that children even were to be deemed sufficiently enlightened and to need no spiritual instruction.

This, as can be seen, was simply the individualism and personal justification of Luther carried to the last extreme. But Luther was furious—furious because perhaps he saw faintly that it was his own teaching reduced to an absurdity—and burst away from the Wartburg to oppose Carlstadt, and obtain from the town council at Wittenberg a prohibition to inhibit Carlstadt from preaching.

Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony declared in favour of reform. In 1523 Magdeburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stettin, Danzig, Riga expelled the monks and priests, and appointed Lutheran preachers. Nürnberg and Breslau hailed the Reformation with delight. Thomas Munzer, who had been expelled from Wittenberg, went to Waldshut on the Rhine, renounced baptism, and declared for direct internal revelation. He rejected Luther's interpretation of the Scriptures, and asserted that no man should be bound by the letter, he must follow the spirit—an internal impulse. Zwingli, the Zürich reformer, a man who was a pantheist in intellect, proceeded against Münzer, caught some of his disciples and

drowned them in the Rhine (1524). Suddenly on all sides broke out a furious revolt of the peasantry under the intolerable oppression to which they were subjected by their feudal superiors. They formulated twelve articles :—The right of the people to appoint their own preachers, who were to preach scriptural truth. The dues paid by the peasantry were to be abolished, as also other rights exacted by the feudal lords. They asked to be guaranteed against capricious taxation, to be given justice according to ancient German law, not the newly introduced Roman law ; and the restoration of communal property.

The insurgent peasants committed many acts of violence and cruelty. Luther, unable to sympathise with them, incapable of seeing that they were contending for rights only which made life tolerable, instead of acting as a mediator, issued a pamphlet against them in which he called on the nobles, "to strangle and stab them openly or secretly as they could, and treat them as one would a mad dog." The nobles took him at his word, and put down the insurrection with frightful barbarity. The emancipation of the serf, which Luther might have effected and ought to have striven to effect, was thus postponed for two centuries.

The Elector John of Saxony empowered Luther to undertake a church visitation throughout his dominions, and to organise religion there according to the doctrine he proposed. His example was followed by the rest of the princes who were inclined for reform, and this measure necessarily resulted in

an absolute separation from the Church instead of a reformation within it. The first step was the abolition of monasteries and the confiscation of their lands by the princes. The cities rose against the bishops with whom they had been at feud for centuries, and expelled them and all the priests who held to the unreformed faith. But when the bishops were gone, Luther saw that it was necessary that there should be some supreme directing head over the clergy, and he invested the sovereigns with this power, a power that had been exercised by Charles the Great and the successors of his house. Not only so, but he constituted the princes those to whom appeal was to be made in all ecclesiastical questions. Thus episcopal authority was transferred by him entirely into the hands of lay princes. An ecclesiastic, who was called a preacher or pastor, was placed over each parish, and though the ecclesiastical vestments were not abolished, the Lutheran pastors, out of compliment to their founder, assumed the Augustinian black habit and used the vestments rarely, perhaps feeling that they symbolised doctrines they no longer professed. The German language was adopted in the service, and Luther edited the first book of hymns, the majority of which were his own composition.

But it was felt that some sort of agreement must be come to as to what was to be believed and taught, for in the new condition of affairs every man followed his own light and believed what he liked, and disbelieved more or less of what had once been taught him. A confession of faith was drawn up by Melancthon

in 1530, and laid before the princes assembled in diet at Augsburg. But simultaneously the cities of Upper Germany that inclined to a more advanced form of negation, presented a creed of their own; a third party produced a Zwinglian creed. The Augsburg confession compiled by Melancthon was based on the Swabian articles drawn up by Luther in 1529, and a Torgau confession. It was moderate in character; it sought to retain a considerable amount of the old Catholic faith, whilst introducing the new doctrine of free justification, which could not possibly agree with the old. It was signed by the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Dukes Francis and Ernest of Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and the cities of Nürnberg and Reutlingen. A confutation was drawn up by a commission of Catholic theologians and presented to the emperor, who sanctioned and published it. He required the so-called Evangelicals to return into the bosom of the Church, otherwise he declared his intention of exercising his authority as protector of the Church against them. The Evangelicals however remained firm, and the diet broke up without any compromise being reached, a threat of the imperial ban being held over the heads of the schismatics.

In Cologne, the first attempt at a Reformation was made by Archbishop Hermann, Count von Weid, who had occupied the archiepiscopal throne since 1515, and had been Bishop of Paderborn since 1532. He invited Melancthon and Bucer to him at Bonn, where

was the palace, and endeavoured, acting on their advice, to introduce the new religion into his diocese. The nobles were willing, but the clergy and the Rath of Cologne opposed the measure so strenuously that the attempt failed. In 1546 Hermann was deposed, and his coadjutor, Count Adolf of Schaumburg, raised to take his place.

The second attempt was made forty years after by Gebhard, the Truchsess of Waldburg, born 1547. He studied in Ingolstadt, Lyons, Bourges, Bologna, and Rome, and spoke fluently Latin, French, and Italian. He was thirty years old when elected archbishop. He had a powerful neighbour, Duke Ernest von Baiern, Bishop of Liége. He appointed Count Hermann von Nuenar und Mörs to be dean, a man who was a very zealous Calvinist, and who formed a strong Calvinist party in the chapter. No sooner was Gebhard installed, than he renounced his faith and proclaimed himself a Calvinist, and promised liberty to any one throughout his dominions who would accept the new religion. Having fallen in love with the beautiful Countess Agnes of Mansfeldt, a niece of his predecessor Bishop Johann Gebhard, who was a nun in the Abbey of Geresheim, he carried her off. The Italian Hieronymo Scotto of Parma, a gallant adventurer and wonder-worker of that period—the same who ten years later was employed to lead the wife of the Duke of Coburg, the daughter of the Kurfürst Augustus of Saxony, into a scandalous adultery, was the means in this case also. He showed the spiritual prince to Agnes in a magic mirror as her future lover.

The bishop first saw her from a window in 1578, when she was in a procession at Bonn to commemorate peace between the Spaniards and the Netherlanders; and conceived such a passion for her that he met her clandestinely and persuaded her to become his concubine in his castle of Brühl near Bonn. This intercourse, which caused great scandal and bitterness, lasted from 1579–1582, till at the beginning of the latter year the brothers of the countess forced the prince-bishop to patch up the damaged reputation of the fallen lady by marriage. He was obliged openly, in the great hall of the chancery at Bonn, to promise matrimony before the brother and brother-in-law of Agnes of Mansfeldt, and his great nobles. On the 2nd of February, 1583, he was married to her by a Calvinist minister, and the bride had the bad taste to present herself for the ceremony with the virgin myrtle-wreath on her head. The wedding festivities lasted three days. The majority of the nobles were disposed to adopt the Reformation, especially the powerful Count Adolf von Neuenar und Mörs: he died 1589—the last of his race, and his property went to the Orange family, who were staunch Calvinists. The counts of Hanau, Solms, and Wittgenstein, and von Weid declared in favour of the reforming archbishop. The brother of the Kurfürst of the Pfalz, the Pfalzgraf Casimir von Lautern, offered his assistance. But Spanish and Bavarian troops, under Duke Ernest von Baiern, held them in check and prevented a violent overthrow of the Catholic religion.

On the third day after his marriage Gebhard went with his wife from Bonn to Dittenburg, to Count John of Hanau, brother of the Prince of Orange, then to Arensburg in the Duchy of Westphalia, which had declared itself in favour of the Reformation. He had carried off with him the archiepiscopal archives and treasure of Cologne, but left his brother Carl Truchsess with two thousand men to command in his name at Bonn. Carl remained there about a twelvemonth, but he was captured, and Bonn capitulated 28th January, 1584. Thereupon Gebhard went to the Prince of Orange, first in Delft and then to the Hague. Thence he went with his wife to England to ask help from Elizabeth to recover his diocese. But the lady having formed a close liaison with the Earl of Essex, the queen's favourite, the jealous Elizabeth ordered her to leave the country. When Agnes returned to her husband, they went together to Strassburg, which was divided between Catholics and Protestants, and where he had been, in 1574, dean three years before he had become archbishop. He died at Strassburg of gout and colic in 1601, aged fifty-four, without children. The beautiful Agnes survived him. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Johann Pappus, who likened him to Moses who had led the people out of the bondage of Egyptian slavery.

Christopher, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, 1511–1558, was Archbishop of Bremen when the Reformation first penetrated into the Hanseatic town. He was succeeded by his younger brother, a staunch

Protestant, who was also Bishop of Minden and Verden. He completed the reformation in his diocese and introduced Calvinism in 1562, and the town senate adopted it in 1568. He was succeeded by Henry, Duke of Sachsen-Lauenburg 1567–1585. In 1574 he was Bishop of Osnabrück, and in 1577 also of Paderborn ; he also was a zealous Protestant, unmarried, but he lived with a mistress, Anna Bestorp, daughter of a Cologne doctor, whom he caused to be treated as a duchess. On Palm Sunday, 1584, this archbishop, riding to his residence at Bremervörde after preaching, fell from his horse and died. He was succeeded by Johann Adolf, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 1585–96, aged ten. In 1586 he was first Bishop of Lübeck ; he married, in 1596, the daughter of the Danish king, and gave up his archdiocese to his younger unmarried brother Johann Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 1596–1634. He had been engaged, since 1600, for twenty years to the sister of the Grand Marshal Count Anthony Günther von Oldenburg, but did not marry her for fear of losing his bishopric. He kept a mistress, whom Duke Adolf Friedrich von Mecklenburg so admired that he gave her a diamond-studded dress. Johann Friedrich was from 1608 Bishop of Lübeck.

The contest begun about religion led to the mortal debilitation of the German Empire. Politics and religion were inseparably fused together. The parties in religion, filled with furious animosities in their struggles with each other, tore the State to pieces. What began as a spirit of ecclesiastical

reform was converted into one of political destruction. The questions of political reform were mixed up with those of religious reform, so that the demand for one involved the demand for the other. We have seen that in the case of the insurgent peasantry. The pressure of feudal rights drove the farmers and tillers of the soil to mad fury, and they asked to be given at the same time Gospel freedom and political liberty. Münzer and other sectaries went even further, they desired perfect social equality. He placed himself at the head of a horde of enthusiasts, proclaimed that all goods were to be held in common, got hold of Mühlhausen, and was defeated in a pitched battle by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Duke Henry of Brunswick, in 1525, with a loss of between five and seven thousand men. A still more menacing and extraordinary revolt against the Lutheran compromise and mediæval political institutions was that at Münster in Westphalia. The bishop was a man of loose morals, warmly inclined to the Reformation, but the Anabaptists in Munster under Hoffmann, a furrier, their apostle, Matthysson, a baker of Harlem, and Jan Bockelsohn of Leyden, a shoemaker, got complete power in the city, and one of the sect, Bernard Knipperdolling, was elected burgomaster in 1534. Then a popular tumult broke out, and all the paintings and statuary in the cathedral and churches were destroyed, and the towers of the churches pulled down, because the Anabaptists declared that this is what was meant by the Scriptural command, that everything exalted should be brought low. The

bishop called to his aid the Duke of Cleves and Guelders and the Archbishop of Cologne, and they proceeded to invest the city. Community of property had been established by the Anabaptists. Some of the evangelicals refused to allow their ministers to give them the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, as an assumption of unjustifiable authority, and insisted on having the bread placed in large soup tureens, and the wine poured on it, and took it out with spoons and forks and helped themselves. Some of the pastors desired to retain infant baptism, and contended for some sort of Real Presence in the Eucharist, but Rottman and the more vehement among the pastors rejected both. "Do you call this the body and blood of Christ?" exclaimed Rottman one day whilst distributing the sacrament, and flinging it on the ground, he continued, "were it so, it would get up from the ground and mount the altar of itself. Know by this that neither the body nor blood of Christ is here."

On the death of Matthysson, 1534, John Bockelsohn was elected head of the political-religious organisation in Münster, and the "sword of righteousness" was given to Knipperdolling. The Anabaptist apostles now proclaimed that they had it revealed to them that man was to live in polygamy. Münster became the theatre of those wild orgies which ever attend mysticism unrestrained, when spiritual exaltation winds up with horrible licentiousness and abominable cruelties. Matthysson had exhorted to a massacre of all the Catholics and Lutherans in the town, and had

only been dissuaded from carrying it into effect by Knipperdolling, who however drove them all, in the midst of the winter and snow, out of the city with their wives and children. Thousands thus expelled traversed the frozen plains. "Never" says an eye-witness, "did I see anything more afflicting. The women carried their naked babes in their arms, and in vain sought rags wherewith to clothe them; miserable children, hanging to their fathers' coats, ran barefooted, uttering piercing cries; old people, bent by age, tottered along, calling down God's vengeance on their persecutors; lastly, some women driven from their beds during the pangs of maternity, fell in labour on the snow, deprived of all human succour."

The proclamation of polygamy roused a reaction that for a moment threatened the domination of the Anabaptist prophets. About two hundred citizens, led by a blacksmith, refused to submit, and resolved to overthrow the tyranny to which they were subjected. They were, however, mastered; ninety-one were ordered to immediate execution, and then twenty-five were shot, sixty-six decapitated, by Knipperdolling. "The partisans of the emancipation of the flesh having thus obtained the mastery," says the eye-witness, "it was impossible, a few days later, to discover in the capital of Westphalia the least traces of modesty and chastity." Two men, for proclaiming that marriage was sacred, were decapitated. The horrors now perpetrated in Münster under the name of religious liberty almost exceed belief, the most frantic licence and savage debauchery were practised.

Bockelsohn was now anointed King of Zion. He at once proceeded to a house to house inquisition in the city, and ordered the delivery of all the goods of every man and their reception into a common fund. He allowed no man or woman more than two complete suits and four shirts.

"It is," he said, "the will of the Lord, that all beef and pork found in every house shall be delivered up to the common use." He took to himself sixteen wives and a long train of concubines, lived himself in the utmost splendour, and exercised despotic sway over the inhabitants. Meals were held in common in the market-place, and during meals capital sentences were executed.

Bockelsohn hung a starving child for having stolen some turnips—a child of ten years old. A woman lost her head for having spit in the face of one of his preachers. An episcopal soldier having been taken and exhorted to embrace the pure Word of God, had the audacity to reply that the pure Gospel as practised in Münster seemed to him to be adultery, fornication, and all uncleanness. The king, foaming with rage, fell on him and hacked off his head with his own hand.

Luther now thundered out of Wittenberg, these reformers of Münster had brought his doctrine to a *reductio ad absurdum.* Melancthon also wrote against them, and five Hessian divines drew up a treatise on the errors of the Anabaptists by order of Philip of Hesse.

The auxiliaries sent by Cleves and Cologne to the assistance of the prince-bishop were insufficient, an

assault on the city, attempted in August, 1534, failed, and the Anabaptists held up their heads more proudly than before. The case, however, became so serious and so alarming, that succours were sent to the prince-bishop from Hesse, Saxony, and the Rhine. On Midsummer Eve, 1535, the city was taken by assault. "In the capture of the city," says the eye-witness, "women and children were spared, and none were killed after the first fight, except the ringleaders." These were tried, were carried about the country in iron cages, cruelly tortured, and put to death. Thus ended this hideous drama, and a siege that had lasted three years. It produced an effect throughout Germany. The excess of the scandal inspired all Catholic princes with horror, and warned the Evangelicals of the wisdom of establishing the Lutheran or the Calvinist compromise.

At Münster Catholicism was re-established without a dissentient voice within the city. Kerssenbroeck, the eye-witness we have already quoted, says that the inhabitants who survived the catastrophe, even those who had once been zealous partisans of the Reformation, became staunch in their adherence to the ancient Church, and nothing afterwards could induce them to lend an ear to Protestantism of any sort. The bishop, a Lutheran at heart, in 1543 proposed to the States of Westphalia to accept the Confession of Augsburg and abandon Catholicism. The proposition was unanimously rejected. He however joined the Protestant Schmalkald union against the emperor and Catholicism in the following year.

This prelate, like Hermann of Cologne, might have done much for the reformation of the German Church had he not been a man of indifferent character. In 1536 he suppressed the Cistercian abbey of Hude, and carried off the organ, bells, and treasure, to supply therewith the Cathedral of Münster, which had been despoiled by the Anabaptists. His reforming tendencies created uneasiness, and he was complained of to the pope and to the emperor. His suppression of the Anabaptists saved him from deposition. He died in 1553, possessed at the same time of the Bishoprics of Minden and Osnabrück. He left behind him three natural sons by Anna Polmans, his concubine, who founded families that still remain in Waldeck, and bear as their arms a half-star, as badge of bastardy, the whole star being the cognizance of Waldeck. He was succeeded by William von Ketteler who was never consecrated, but occupied the see till 1557, when he resigned, the next bishop but one, John II. Count of Hoya, held simultaneously the bishoprics of Münster, Osnabrück, and Paderborn. Bishop Ernest, who ruled the see from 1585 to 1612, a duke of Bavaria, was also Archbishop of Cologne, Bishop of Freising in Bavaria, of Liége, and administrator of the diocese of Hildesheim. All his successors to the beginning of the present century, with a sole exception, were also pluralists.

Bishop Ernest of Bavaria, who was also Archbishop of Cologne, and held as well Freising, Liége, and Hildesheim, was never consecrated, and he died, in 1612, without consecration. Not only was he arch-

bishop and bishop of five dioceses, but also abbot of Berchtesgaden.

It will be seen from these instances that where Catholicism was restored, it was not done in a right way. No real attempts at reformation of abuses were made. The injury done to religion by the union of secular power with the episcopal office was aggravated fourfold. Instead of the bishops becoming more conscious of their religious duties, they were more worldly than before, and neglected to be consecrated to perform the sacred duties that belonged to their offices. They were elected, not for their moral fitness, but because they were princes of powerful houses.

In the meantime Würtemberg had been agitated by a reformer called Brenz, who held extreme views like those of Zwingli; and Duke Ulrich supported him, and rejected the Catholic faith. Basle submitted to the equally thorough-going reform of Œcolampadius, and Geneva in 1535 placed itself in the hands of Calvin. The Hanseatic towns accepted the compromise of Luther in a great convocation held at Hamburg in 1535. Albert of Brandenburg was grand-master of the Hospitallers who held the marches from Pomerania to Poland. The Order had fallen into disrepute; Albert boldly dissolved it, and converted its territories into a hereditary principality under himself, and introduced Lutheranism to justify his ambition. John, Elector of Saxony, was succeeded in 1532 by his son John Frederick, even more enthusiastic for reformation than his father. Brandenburg

embraced Lutheranism in 1539, and Thuringia followed the example. The Protestant princes had entered into a league, called the Schmalkald union, to maintain themselves and the principles of the Reformation against the emperor, and the Catholic princes, in 1538, formed the Holy Alliance in opposition.

We must now turn to Rome and see what the popes had been doing in the meantime. In 1517, when Luther began his memorable warfare against indulgences, he had appealed against the pope to a general council. At first Leo X., who was pope, despised both Luther and the movement in Germany, and he had no intention whatever of granting a council.

But the movement gained ground, and the demand for a council became more imperious, not from the reformers only but specially from devout Catholics who recognised the abuses in the Church, and desired their removal. The bishops, for instance, had almost everywhere protested against the nefarious sale of indulgences, but had been unable to forbid it. Before the Roman court floated vaguely the vision of a council full of threat against the corruptions on which it fattened, and it therefore postponed it. The pope was in perplexity. He was willing to have a council under his complete control which would reform all such abuses as did not touch his prerogative and pocket, but no such assembly would satisfy people anxious for real and solid reforms; and a council which would have this nature he could not endure.

Leo X. died in 1521, and Charles V. obtained the elevation of his old tutor, Adrian of Utrecht. He knew to some extent what was wanted. He freely admitted that it was the vices and exactions of the papal court which had goaded the people into rebellion. He sent a nuncio to the Diet of Nurnberg in 1523, with this frank avowal, but the Protestant princes were not content with the promise of such reforms as he would concede. They forwarded to him a list of one hundred grievances that demanded redress. Suddenly Adrian died, September 14, 1523. His admission that there were abuses in the Roman court and his promise to purge it had filled the Curia with alarm, and it was universally believed that he died by poison. Certain it is that garlands of flowers were laid at the door of the pope's physician with the sinister inscription "To the liberator of his country!" He was succeeded by Clement VII., a Medici, who sent a nuncio to the Diet at Nürnberg. The princes demanded that the pope and emperor should convene a general council, and that it should sit in Germany. Clement VII. died in 1534, having effected nothing. His successor, Paul III., saw that it was impossible to postpone altogether a council, and negotiations were entered into and protracted on both sides. Luther and the Protestant princes would not hear of one not absolutely independent; and independence, after the experience of Constance and Basle, was precisely what the pope would not allow. Not till 1542 did the pope inform the Diet at Speyer that he had resolved that a council should assemble, and that, although Ferrara,

Bologna, or Piacenza would have been more suitable, he had selected Trent as the meeting-place, on account of its proximity to the German frontier. The Emperor Ferdinand and the Catholic princes, after a despairing suggestion in favour of Ratisbon or Cologne, accepted Trent; but the Protestants emphatically refused it, nor would they have anything to do with any council convened by the pope. For, indeed, every possibility of reconciliation was past. The Protestant princes and cities did not desire reconciliation, dreading lest one of the first provisions of such a peace should be the restoration of territories appropriated from the Church, and of the bishops to their place as princes over the cities and the dioceses. The theologians did not want it, for their views were irreconcilable with Catholic doctrine.

There were—besides the mystical Anabaptists—three forms of evangelical dissent from Historic Christianity: the Calvinist, the Zwinglian, and the Lutheran. Calvinism was embraced by the cities and large masses of the people in the Low Countries, and by the rulers of the Palatinate, Hesse-Cassel, Baden-Durlach, and Zweibrücken; Zwinglianism prevailed in Zürich, Basle, Würtemberg, Baden, Strassburg; but Lower Germany, Nürnberg, Thuringia, and Saxony and Brandenburg held to Luther. The Calvinistic system of theology had this merit, that it was clear cut, logical, and intelligible. God is absolute. His will determines all things. He wills that some of His creatures shall be saved, others lost. Nothing that man can do, good or bad, can alter the

determination of God. Man is predestined to life or death; if predestined to life, what sins he may commit are no sins; they do not alter his condition, he is saved in spite of them. If a man be predestined to death, no prayers, no tears, no works of righteousness he may do can alter his case. He is damned notwithstanding. The elect can never fall away, they are assured of their salvation. According to such a system, what place in it has Christ's incarnation and death? It has this, that it was foreseen and determined, and that it is only through the Atonement that the Father's wrath against mankind is propitiated. Christ's blood redeemed those who are predestined to eternal life, but them only.

Everything that could be comely and pleasant to eye and ear and heart was swept out of the churches, they were made as bare as barns, Christian seasons were abolished, Christian reverence for sacred places condemned, only the Sabbath maintained as the sole sacred season.

Zwinglian theology was less dogmatic. Zwingli himself drew out a system of theology which, however, was not generally accepted, like the Institutes of Calvin, by the churches which followed his reform. He also reduced Christian worship to the barest and most hideous nakedness.

Lutheranism was a compromise, as already said, a retention of a good deal of the form and doctrine of the Catholic Church, but attached to it was the explosive and destructive tenet of free justification; certain, when acted on, to destroy both Christian

consciousness of sin and consciousness of need of a Church and of sacraments. The reformers could in no ways agree with one another, and Germany was filled with their wrangling, drowned only by the almost incessant clash of arms.

XIX.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

Popularity of the Reformation—Reasons for this—Strife about Secular and Ecclesiastical territories—The cooling of Enthusiasm among the Protestants—Revival of Zeal among the Catholics—Disturbance of Ideas by rapid Changes in Religion—Aristocratic tendency of Lutheranism—Luther impatient of Opposition—His Subserviency to the Princes—Moral Degeneration of the Protestants—The Result of Free Justification—Increased Strictness of Life among Catholics—The Jesuits—Theologic Controversies among the Protestants—The Spread of the Jesuits—The Capuchins—The Thirty Years' War—The Peace of Westphalia—Petrifaction.

THE vast majority of the German people had been in favour of Protestantism; some because they desired a real reformation of religion, many because they desired to escape from ecclesiastical restraint, most because they sincerely hated the papacy. The clergy who had lived in concubinage desired it, that their illegitimate union might be turned into one legitimate; others desired it that they might not be bled at every vein to supply the insatiable greed of the Roman Curia. The burghers desired it, because they had suffered from the tyranny of their prince-bishops, who had endeavoured to cripple all their attempts at independence. Many of the princes and nobles desired it, because they cast covetous eyes on the

estates of the Church. The Imperial Diet was composed of three houses, the first house was composed of the seven electors; the second house comprised all those persons, lay and ecclesiastical, who had the right to sit in the Diet. Lastly came the free imperial cities, always treated as an inferior house. In the first house sat three ecclesiastical electors and three lay electors, the seventh, the King of Bohemia, only attended for an election of the emperor. In the second house there were thirty-eight ecclesiastical dignitaries, and but eighteen laymen. As may well be supposed, therefore, the Diet was opposed to the Reformation. And when the northern bishoprics were seized by the Protestants, Bremen, Ratzeburg, Lübeck, Minden, Osnabrück, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Lebus, Naumburg, the Protestant administrators were refused admission, on the ground that they were not bishops.

At the Diet of Augsburg, in 1555, it was agreed that all such Protestant princes as had seized ecclesiastical property within their own territories should retain it, but no provision was made for the future. The Protestants desired that any bishop or abbot who wished to withdraw from the Church, and establish Protestantism as the religion of his subjects, might do so. The Catholics insisted that a bishop or abbot who changed his religion should be deposed, and this view of the case was carried, under the title of the Ecclesiastical Reservation. It was not possible that the line of demarcation drawn then should suffice for

all time. The princes continued to secularise Church lands; a hundred monasteries alone fell to the grasp of the Palatine. The Protestants sought to evade the provisions of the Treaty of Augsburg. They pretended that the object of the reservation was not to keep the bishoprics in the hands of Catholic bishops, but to prevent quarrels between the bishops and their chapters. If, therefore, a chapter filled with Protestants elected a Protestant as their bishop, then, they argued, he might accept the position of administrator and make the diocese into a Protestant principality. Thus considerable irritation and much contention arose, which must eventually lead to some final settlement or to war.

Hardly was Protestantism passed out of its first fervour of iconoclastic havoc—the destruction of dogmas and the rejection of ecclesiastical authority—before it cooled down with as much rapidity as it had flared up, and became dead and formal, a mere battle-field for quarrels of theologians. Practical piety had ceased, the people became indifferent and irreligious, united only in determination never again to submit to the pope. On the other hand the terrible losses to the Church had stirred up in her a new fever of enthusiasm. The Jesuit order was founded expressly to combat the reforming spirit. Men of intense and exalted enthusiasm, irreproachable life, and burning piety threw themselves into the forefront of the battle. Moreover, the Council of Trent, broken off, resumed, broken off, and resumed again, did finally conclude its protracted labours, and provided the Catholic

Church with a system of theology, compact and clearly defined, at the very time when in the Protestant camp every man had his doctrine, his revelation, his interpretation, and the theologians were wrangling and screaming at each other, denouncing each other as heretics, and bewildering men's minds as to what truth was and where it was to be found.

The Lutheran reformation and the Calvinist had distinct political ends. The Calvinist was republican, the Lutheran aristocratic. Under Calvin in Geneva the city had expelled its prince-bishop and had become a theocratic republic organised by Calvin ; in Holland it was much the same. If it was not so in the German principalities of Hesse-Cassel and Zweibrücken, it was because it was never heartily taken up by the people ; it was forced on them by the princes. In the Palatinate there was incessant change. One prince was Lutheran, and in 1540 the Palatinate was Lutheranised ; in 1565, the ensuing prince was Calvinist. He swept the churches bare of all ornaments and ejected and expelled the Lutheran pastors.

In 1579 the Pfalz was again Lutheranised by the next prince ; in 1585 it was once more Calvinised. In the Thirty Years' War it was Catholicised, and then again Calvinised. In less than a century the Palatinate passed through *ten* changes of religion. Much the same sort of thing occurred elsewhere. In 1546 Köthen was Lutheranised by its prince. Next year under another prince it reverted to Catholicism. In 1552 it was Lutheranised once more. In 1566 it

was Calvinised. The very changes, the swaying of states from one religion to another, and then back again, unsettled men's minds ; they did not know what to believe, what worship was right, and lapsed into indifference. Over against all this flux of religion stood the Catholic Church with closed-up ranks moving forward in mass.

Lutheranism was, as already said, aristocratic. Luther regarded his work as obstructed by the movement made by Sickingen on behalf of the knights to break up the ecclesiastical principalities. Franz of Sickingen had dashed upon the Electorate of Trèves in 1522. It was a venture of statecraft. He desired to set the example of doing away with the ecclesiastical principalities. It failed. Luther threw his weight into the opposite scale, and Sickingen was driven by the Palatine and Landgrave of Hesse back to his fortress and there died.

When the peasants rose, they set their hopes on Luther, but he failed them as he had the knights. "The common man," wrote he, "must be laden with burdens, lest he become too proud." He who was in favour of serfdom was not the man to encourage a democratic rising. In like manner there was a democratic revolt under a very remarkable man, Jürgen Wullenweber, in Lübeck ; this also met with no sympathy from Luther, and it was subdued in 1535. Luther placed all his confidence in the princes whom he invested with episcopal authority, and all the efforts of the inferior classes after emancipation from intolerable thraldom, or after a freer and more

generous political organisation, were what he could not understand, and disliked. He insisted over and over again on the unconditional obedience due to the sovereign. He was the inventor of that doctrine of the Divine right of kings which was seized on by the English sovereigns of the Stuart dynasty and which proved so fatal to it. "That two and five make seven," he preached, "is what reason teaches; but if the prince says two and five make eight, then you must believe it against your reason and understanding." He would have naught of the emancipation of the intellect any more that he would of emancipation from State despotism. "The intellect," said he, "is the Devil's harlot." This servile policy of Lutheranism was very acceptable to the princes, and was fatal to the political new birth of the empire. Indeed, Luther did what he could to weaken the empire. The emperor was opposed to Protestantism, and the princes favoured his policy, the tendency of which was to invest them with absolute authority and independence, and so virtually to break up the empire. This prepared the way for the Thirty Years' War.

It was impossible that men's minds once set working should accept Luther's half-and-half measures, should consent to a compromise between conflicting religious elements, implicitly and without question. But Luther would hear of no difference of opinion from himself. Whoever varied by a hair's-breadth was a heretic and a fanatic. In the notable congress on religion at Marburg in 1529, when he met and contended with Zwingli, unable to meet the cold

and keen rationalism of the Zürich reformer, he burst forth, as he hammered with his fist on the table, "You have not the right spirit!" and broke up the conference. If he raged against those audacious preachers who refused to accept him as their pope, he cringed to the princes, going even to the extent of sanctioning Philip of Hesse having two wives. Every prince became, not a bishop only, but an absolute pope in his own petty realm; and Sebastian Frank, in 1534, in his preface to the 'Weltbuch,' lamented over the condition of Protestant orthodoxy. "Formerly" wrote he, "under the papacy one was much freer to denounce the crimes of princes and nobles; now one must play the courtier to them, and pass all over, or one is treated as a rebel. God have mercy on us!"

The practical working of Luther's new doctrine began to tell, even in his lifetime. It was only what might have been expected, that the ignorant should lay hold of it, as they had of the doctrine of indulgences, and use it as an excuse for all kinds of self-indulgence. Moreover, in all times of religious ferment, when once enthusiasm cools, there is a relaxation of moral restraint. And where this ferment had been destructive to dogma, it not unnaturally touched and destroyed morality as well. The testimony of the reformers to the moral deterioration of their country is almost unanimous. Erasmus challenged Luther to show him a single Evangelical who had become a better Christian by the change. "Can it be by accident," asked he, "that I have not

met with a sole Evangelical who does not appear worse than when he joined them?" George Wizel, a zealous Lutheran pastor, was shaken in his belief in the fundamental doctrine, by the frightful results it produced. "When I saw," said he, "Evangelicals reject all discipline, all decent living, all that conduces to make men better and truer Christians, and that my sermons, instead of amending hearts, demoralised them, I began to doubt this doctrine." John Egranus said, "The new dogma is most pernicious; for to teach people that faith is the only thing necessary to salvation, is the same thing as authorising them to lead a sensual and pagan life." Again:—"Here are fine results. History shows us that during eight centuries since Germany was Christianised, never was perversity equal to what now triumphs everywhere." Theobald Billihan told his friend, the reformer Urban Regius, in 1525, "It is my daily experience that the 'Gospel' serves only to favour the development of impiety." Pirkheimer, whom we have already mentioned, said bluntly that his experience of justification by faith was that "it had no other end than that of masking fleshly lusts." "I hoped," he wrote to Zazius, "that we should obtain some spiritual liberty by embracing the Gospel, but, on the contrary, I find it opens the road to all carnal pleasures, in such a way that we are a hundred times worse than we were." Sebastian Frank, frightened at the results, became an Anabaptist. "It is very apparent," said he, "that ever since the 'Gospel' has been preached, this 'Gospel,'

instead of edifying and amending men, has done nothing but bear witness against them. They have lost even the sense of shame. Decency, modesty, honour are no more, charity is cold; there is no conscience, no repentance."

"Lutheranism," said Agricola, who was a mystic, "has brought things to this pass, that sin with them is no longer regarded as sin." Bucer lamented, "that which prevents many well-intentioned persons from joining us is that they observe few good results." In a letter to Calvin he complains that not a vestige of penitence is to be found among the most exemplary Protestants. He also speaks of the "disastrous consequences" of the new doctrine.

Bucer's efforts to enforce morality angered the rigorous Lutherans, who denounced him as destroying thereby the foundations of the Gospel. "That which attracted the people (to the Reformation)," wrote Bucer in 1549, "was that it afforded them the facility of living after their own lusts." Dietrich of Nürnberg complained that in every class of life where free justification had been accepted, demoralisation had ensued. "The Papists, our adversaries, are not so blind that they cannot see the scandal, the avarice, selfishness, pride, intemperance, profanity, libertinage, and the lying that disfigure this 'Gospel,' and they say, if the doctrine were good, the morals of its professors would be good." Justus Jonas, Luther's companion at the Diet of Worms, wrote, "Those who call themselves Evangelicals have adopted the Gospel, for the most part to procure for themselves carnal

liberty." "The mass of the people are becoming daily more daring, brutal, and savage, as though the Gospel were given solely to enable men to give themselves up without scruple to all kinds of vices." Prince George of Anhalt, himself a zealous partisan of Luther, was obliged to admit, "We people use the Divine Word, not for amendment and sanctification, but as a cloak for frivolity, insubordination, and fleshly liberty. It must be owned, however humiliating it may be to do so, that this precious doctrine is far from having produced the fruits expected. In presence of numerous facts attesting it, one must allow that it serves most people as a cloak for their turpitudes, and affords them a means of procuring carnal liberty." Jerome Weller, an enthusiastic admirer of Luther, who introduced the Reformation into Meissen, was forced to own that men joined the Lutheran communion to escape the bondage of the Ten Commandments. But quotations might be multiplied without end.*

On the other side, the scandal of the sale of indulgences had ceased, and the Catholics, warned to set their house in order, had done so with energy. As Protestant zeal cooled, enthusiasm kindled and glowed on the Catholic side, and men generally began to lead stricter lives, so that many hesitated when they compared the flagrant licentiousness on the one side, covered and apparently sanctioned by

* See for a mass of such testimony Dr. Döllinger's 'Die Reformation,' Ratisbon, 1848. There is a French translation, 'La Réforme,' Paris, 1848.

the new doctrine, and the severe self-disciplined morality on the other. The Jesuit Order, founded in 1540, gained ground rapidly, and at first showed only its favourable side; the innate viciousness of the constitution, its paralysing influence on all national life did not manifest itself till later. The Council of Trent closed its sessions in 1562, and the Jesuits formed a solid phalanx, whose great object it was to carry its teaching throughout Europe, and impress the churches everywhere with its stamp. Jesuitism sought to convert the whole world into a theocracy, a domain of the pope, who was himself to be a mere puppet in its hands. All freedom of thought, nay, even thought itself, was to be trampled under foot, and in its place was to stand absolute submission to authority. It sought, by attaching the shrewdest of the rulers, the mightiest of princes, the politicians of greatest influence, to its policy, by glittering promises of advantage, to enchain and stultify the mass of mankind.

In 1540, the Jesuit Le Fèvre acted as theologian to the imperial ambassador at Worms, and thence went on to Ratisbon. His reports made a great impression on the pope. The German college was founded by the Jesuits in Rome in 1552. Duke William of Bavaria invited them into his territories. They settled in the hereditary dominions of Austria in 1552. Among the most illustrious was Peter Canisius, whose catechism of Christian doctrine became a standard book in Germany, and ran through five hundred editions in the first hundred

and thirty years after its publication. The Jesuits arrived in Bohemia in 1556, and in Poland in 1558. Not long before his death Loyola had resolved on the foundation of an upper German province, and at the head of this was placed Canisius.

Protestantism was now in its turn exposed to vigorous attack. "Each petty court had its own school of theologians, whose minds were dwarfed to the limits of the circle which they influenced with their logic and their eloquence. The healthful feeling which springs from action on a large stage was wanting to them. Bitterly wrangling with one another, they were eager to call in the secular arm against their opponents. Seizing this opportunity, the newly constituted order of Jesuits stepped forward to bid silence in the name of the renovated Papal Church, alone, as they urged, able to give peace instead of strife, certainty instead of disputation. The Protestants were taken at a disadvantage. Luther had long ago passed away from the world. Melancthon's last days were spent in a hopeless protest against the evil around him. 'For two reasons,' he said, as he lay upon his death-bed, 'I desire to leave this life: first, that I may enjoy the sight, which I long for, of the Son of God and of the Church in Heaven. Next, that I may be set free from the monstrous and implacable hatreds of the theologians.'

"In the face of a divided people, of self-seeking princes, and of conflicting theories, the Jesuits made their way. Step by step the Catholic reaction

gained ground, not without compulsion, but also not without that moral force which makes compulsion possible."*

The Catholic reaction, which was carried out in the second half of the 16th century in the Romance lands, was attempted, and met with considerable success in Germany in the following century. The tolerance of both the Emperors, Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., prevented it being carried out by force. The early death (1576) of the latter, a large-hearted and well-disposed monarch, gave the Jesuits their opportunity to sweep opposition away where it could not be argued with and convinced.

Their plans, to which Maximilian of Bavaria and Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand II., were won, were now put in execution. The Protestants had entered into a dishonourable and treacherous agreement with France against the imperial crown, and this enabled France to seize on Metz, Toul, and Verdun. In 1608, under the auspices of the Elector Palatine, a Protestant union was concluded among them, supported from behind by France, Denmark, and Sweden. In opposition to this, Maximilian convoked the Catholic princes to form the League (1609) with the pope, and the power of Spain behind it. The Thirty Years' War was the result: it broke out in 1618 and lasted till 1648, causing to Germany intolerable misery.

A Jesuit college was opened in 1559 at Munich, which soon emptied the Higher Protestant Schools;

* Gardiner: 'The Thirty Years' War,' 1886, p. 13.

another was founded at Landshut in 1578. The Jesuits established themselves in the University of Ingolstadt in 1576; they were invited into Fulda, where six generations of abbots had allowed the Reformation to spread unmolested; and by 1576 the territory was completely recatholicised.

The Jesuits were introduced into Mainz, and the Protestant pastors expelled. They found their way into Paderborn and Hildesheim, where they did much to rescue Catholicism from being overwhelmed by the waves of Lutheranism that surrounded these islets of historic Christianity. The Jesuits arrived in Würzburg in 1564, and in the same year in the University of Dillingen. Protestant worship was suppressed in Bamberg and Worms; and in 1570 the Jesuits established themselves in Trèves. Wherever they went they formed a nucleus of staunch upholders of the traditional faith, gave rigidity and confidence to its adherents, and did more—inspired them with enthusiasm, no longer to maintain the defensive, but to assume an aggressive attitude. The Jesuits never attempted to do much for the peasant and the illiterate. They devoted all their energies to mastering the policy of the princes, and to getting the education of the cultured classes into their own hands.

But another order took care of the peasant—the Capuchin. This was a reform of the Franciscan Order; it was recruited from the peasantry and the poor, and understood therefore how to appeal to their hearts and convictions. Like the Franciscans of

the 13th and 14th centuries, they were the preachers of the people, and they succeeded in winning those whom the Jesuits made no attempt to reach.

It is no purpose of ours to detail the wretched story of the Thirty Years' War, that made of the whole of Germany one great battle-field, that reduced the population to one-third, and caused the disappearance from the map of hundreds of villages. In Wurtemberg alone, between 1634 and 1641, as many as 345,000 persons perished. In Thuringia, before the war, in nineteen villages were 1773 families, of these only 316 remained after it. In 1618 the population of Germany numbered between 16,000,000 and 17,000,000; in 1649 there were not quite 9,000,000. And, as is always the case, the physical decline of the population was attended by moral decadence—not moral decadence only, but intellectual lassitude.

The empire remained in name only, all reality had fled from the high-sounding title of emperor. By the peace of Westphalia, concluded on the 24th of October, 1648, the religious difficulty in Germany was settled. Whatever ecclesiastical benefice was in Catholic hands at that date was to remain in Catholic hands for ever. Ecclesiastical benefices in the hands of Protestants were to remain in Protestant keeping. The Imperial Court was reconstituted, Protestants and Catholics were appointed to it in equal numbers. Halberstadt was lost to the Church, and went, along with the bishoprics of Camin and Minden, and a great part of the archdiocese of Magdeburg, to Brandenburg. A strange compromise was effected

with regard to Osnabrück. A Catholic bishop was to alternate with a Protestant administrator. Sweden received the bishoprics of Bremen and Werden. Mecklenburg-Schwerin got possession of the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg; Hesse obtained the abbey-lands of Hersfeld.

Thus ended that long period of religious conflict that had lasted a hundred-and-twenty years, and it ended in general petrifaction.

XX.

RELIGIOUS STAGNATION.

Condition of Religion after the Thirty Years' War—General Religious Indifference—Pietism—Spenner—Franke—Zinzendorf—Gottfried Arnold—The Magdeburg Centuriators—Arnold follows their Steps—The Roman Church in Germany—Futile Attempts at Union—Conversions—No Famous Preachers—Accumulation of Bishoprics in the same hands—Appointment of Nuncios—Hontheim—Reforms of Maria Theresa—Of Joseph II.—The Congress of Ems—The Archbishops insincere—The Archbishop of Trèves—Of Cologne—The University of Bonn—The Archbishop of Mainz—The Chapter at Mainz—The Archbishop of Salzburg—Expulsion of Protestants—The Court at Salzburg—Protestantism in Prussia—Rationalism.

THE Thirty Years' War had been a religious war in name only. In fact, it was a contest over the estates of the Church that had been confiscated and annexed by the Protestant princes. They had no intention of surrendering these acquisitions, and the emperor and the Catholic princes were jealous of such an extension of territory and increase of strength, likely, as they feared, to disturb the balance of power in Germany. By the peace of Westphalia the princes of northern Germany were suffered to retain what they had grasped, and clung to so tenaciously, in spite of the protest of the pope, to which none attended. The effects of the protracted war had been as disastrous

2725

to religion as to the material interests of the State. True, vital, spiritual religion had died out, or flickered but feebly here and there. It could not live and be vigorous in times of such brutalities masquerading under the name of religion. Roman Catholicism in Germany was little but formalism; dead indifference had taken possession of the souls of men. *Cujus regio ejus religio*, applied everywhere, and no one objected to such a preposterous maxim. So long as men could enjoy peace they cared little what creed they professed. But if Roman Catholicism was without fervour, it was the same with Protestantism, Lutheran and Calvinistic. A more than thirty years' war of contending theologians had wearied and disgusted the people, and they no longer felt interest in the religion which was wrangled over, nor cared to what degree negation was to be legitimately carried.

The expulsion of the Moravian Brothers from Bohemia, however, conduced to the upgrowth of sporadic mysticism. Before that event, Spenner, court preacher at Dresden, a man of sincere piety, insisted that religion was a matter of personal experience, and that the end of all preaching should be the awakening of the heart to a consciousness of the personal relations to God. He held assemblies in his own house (1670) for prayer and exhortation. He opposed dogmatic teaching, but urged the study of Holy Scripture. He insisted on the priesthood of every believer, and made man's inner consciousness the sole judge of right and wrong,

truth and error, and of his own condition in the sight of God. He entered into close communication with Franke, a professor at Leipzig, who shared his views.

Franke roused the suspicion of the orthodox party in the university, and was obliged to leave in 1690 for Erfurt. There also he excited hostility, in that he insisted on religion being a matter of feeling and not of doctrine, and he was driven away thence also, and he settled finally as professor at Halle. Spenner also got into trouble at Dresden, and was obliged to leave. He was named provost of S. Nicolas at Berlin. The theological faculty at Wittenberg denounced him as heretical on 264 points, but his unction and eloquence drew crowds to hear him, and the complaints of the orthodox theologians only served to stimulate the interest of the people in him. Thenceforth he was left unmolested. The party of Mystics founded by these men acquired the name of Pietists. On account of the hostility of the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg, Franke enlisted the assistance of the learned Thomasius in effecting the foundation of the University of Halle (1694) as a centre of Pietism. The Moravians, when leaving their native land, were given shelter on the estates of Count Zinzendorf (1700–1760), and there founded their settlement of Herrnhut. The original Moravian-Hussite refugees did not at first coalesce with the Lutherans among whom they found themselves, but Zinzendorf took on himself to organise their religious belief for them as a curious amalgam, and their ecclesiastical system after his own fantastic ideas, and the refugees, too grateful

to be given a quiet resting-place, accepted his arrangements without a murmur. Some of the great families of the German upper aristocracy became warm adherents of the Pietistic movement; notable among these was the family of Reuss, which for several generations produced princes of exemplary piety, true benefactors to their subjects.

Pietism, as was inevitable, in a good many cases ran into licentious mysticism, a shadow that inevitably dogs its steps.

From the bosom of Pietism rose the man who did almost as much to shake the foundations of Lutheranism as Luther had done to disturb the basis of the Catholic Church. This man was Gottfried Arnold. To understand his work we must look back to the era of the Reformation.

In 1559 appeared the first volume of the Magdeburg Centuriators. This was a compendious work on Church history compiled by Matthias Flacius Illyricus and a body of students under his guidance. The object of this work was to supply the German Lutherans with a Church history which should justify their position of protest against the See of Rome. It was in every point an able and remarkable, though a prejudiced and disingenuous work. It was polemical against the papacy from beginning to end. History was tortured to turn every fact to the advantage of the Evangelical Church. The authors were not perhaps consciously dishonest, but they were uncritical, and their zeal and prejudices overmastered their judgments. The fierce tone of hostility and

sarcasm used towards the clergy of earlier times, the bitter contempt for every expression of religious feeling which the authors disapproved, their arrogance and presumption, the utter abuse of candour and charity which prevail throughout the work, set an unhappy example of writing Church history in the spirit of party, and marked out that region as one in which henceforth incessant warfare was to be waged. The Magdeburg Centuries became the standard authority for Church history in Protestant Germany, and so remained for one hundred and forty years. Then came Nemesis.

In 1699–1700 appeared, published at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Gottfried Arnold's 'Impartial History of the Church and of Heresies, from the birth of Christ to the year 1688.' Arnold had in early life been associated with the Pietists, and had come to resent with bitter animosity the hostility shown by the old school of theologians in the Lutheran Established Church towards Spenner, Franke, and their followers.

With a heart full of consecrated gall, he composed his history, in which he followed the lines of the Magdeburg Centuriators, was inspired by their spirit, but converted his Church history into an attack upon the Lutheran Church, just as the Centuriators had made of theirs a vehicle of attack on the Catholic Church. He endeavoured to show that the clergy of all ages had been the main enemies of true Christianity, and that vital and pure religion had nowhere else been found than among those

denounced by the Church as heretics. Though he called his book an 'Impartial History,' there never was, perhaps, a book more devoid of impartiality. "From first to last he never loses sight of his main object, constantly putting in the most suspicious and odious light the conduct of the spirituality, and palliating or justifying the opinions of the heretical sects. Though the orthodox of every age were the favourite objects of his insinuations and invectives, his own communion had the greatest cause to complain of his unfairness. It was the Lutheran doctors who were treated with the greatest severity, and the Lutheran institutions which were most cruelly exposed."*

This book of Arnold set the fatal example that has since been so extensively followed, of unbounded scepticism, of treating the Church as an institution to be maligned, scoffed at, its sacred work disregarded, its saints treated with obloquy as knaves or fools. But Arnold was himself a tool in the hands of a much abler man, Thomasius, the friend of Franke, and it was under his advice that he wrote, for Thomasius it was who had formed a deliberate plan for lowering all respect for the clergy and reverence for dogmatic theology. The full extent of the effect of the work was probably not foreseen by Thomasius; the book was intended to be polemical against the then adversaries of the Pietists only. Nevertheless this book brought about the greatest change ever

* Dowling: 'An Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History,' 1838, p. 173.

effected in the study and treatment of Church history. The Lutherans had hitherto in a dim and uncertain manner clung to the early Church as their authority for such beliefs and rites as Luther had not abolished; but now this feeling was violated. When there was no filial reverence to make Lutheranism hold to the primitive Church, and stand up for her honour and purity, the history of the Church lost all sacredness and was degraded into a branch of vulgar knowledge.

We will now turn our eyes to Roman Catholicism in Germany.

A plan for the reunion of the Churches had been considered by the princes in 1644, but nothing had come of it, and it was taken up again in 1660 by John Philip von Schonborn, Archbishop of Mainz; but it was soon made apparent that the differences were radical, and that no union with Lutherans and Calvinists was possible, between systems the one constructive and positive, the other destructive and negative. Other attempts were made by Spinola, first of all Bishop of Tina in Croatia and then of Neustadt near Vienna: he died 1695. The Hanoverian Court entered into his schemes, and a considerable correspondence on the subject was entered into with Leibnitz, Nolan, Abbot of Lochum, and Bossuet. Nothing came of—for nothing could come of—such an attempt. Some of the German princes, either from conviction or policy, came over to the Catholic Church; among such were the Landgrave Ernest of Hesse (1652), John Frederick, Duke of

Brunswick (1651), Frederick Augustus I., Elector of Saxony (1697), and Charles Alexander, Duke of Würtemberg (1712). Christian Augustus, Duke of Holstein (1705), and Anthony Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick (1710), brought over their entire families with them. The great nobles in the Austrian dominions in Hungary and Bohemia also joined the Catholic Church, and were rewarded for their conversion by being created princes.

The lethargy that hung over the Roman Church in Germany after the Thirty Years' War, for nearly a century, was not broken by any signs of awakening. No great preachers appeared, such as Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Massillon in France. The only man whose name became known as a popular preacher was Abraham a Santa Clara, a Franciscan, but he degenerated into buffoonery. Of homely, sensible, instructive preachers the Church had no lack, but none of distinction. Theological studies were neglected, and almost the only energy shown was by the Jesuits. The cathedral chapters were filled by junior sons of noble families, who had assumed the tonsure for the sake of a benefice, and without any genuine clerical vocation. The bishops were princes of the empire, and left the discharge of their episcopal functions to their vicars and choir-bishops. Several bishoprics were held by the same man, and his duties in none were personally discharged. John Philip of Schönborn held simultaneously the Archbishopric of Mainz (1647), the Bishopric of Würzburg (1642), and that of Worms (1663), till his death in

1673. His successor held, beside the archbishopric, the Bishoprics of Worms and Speyer; Francis Louis, Count Palatine of the Rhine, was Bishop of Breslau in Silesia, Bishop of Worms, and Archbishop of Mainz. Maximilian Henry, Duke of Bavaria, Archbishop of Cologne, was simultaneously Bishop of Hildesheim, Liége, and Münster. He died 1688. His predecessor held together the Archbishopric of Cologne and four bishoprics. His successor, another Bavarian duke, held in addition to Cologne, the sees of Freising, Hildesheim, Liége, and Ratisbon. He was succeeded by Clemens Augustus I. of Bavaria, who held in addition to the archbishopric five bishoprics. The Reformation and the Thirty Years' War had done nothing, absolutely nothing, to remedy the root evil of the system which paralysed the life and destroyed the efficacy of the Church in Germany.

In 1581, nuncios had been sent from Rome to Vienna, Cologne, Munich, and Lucerne, and since then there had been a regularly established nunciature at these places. The nuncios had not scrupled to interfere with the proceedings of the bishops, and to assume to themselves rights controlling them in a manner irksome and uncanonical. This provoked irritation among the German bishops. The choir-bishop of Trèves, John Nicolas Hontheim, under the pseudonym of Febronius, in 1763 issued a book on the state of the Church, and the legitimate powers of the Roman See, which was first published in Latin, and the following year in German. He claimed for

the episcopate its primitive rights, and demanded for the German Church those liberties which were claimed by the Gallican Church. According to him, the pope was not the monarchical head of the Church, but the president in the council of bishops, *primus inter pares*, and further that this primacy was given to the Roman see, not by Christ, but by the Church. The pope exercised a certain authority over the Church, in virtue of this concession, but no jurisdiction. Hontheim may be said to have stated the Anglican view of the episcopate, and its relations to the chair of S. Peter. This book excited great interest in Germany and in Italy; and called forth rejoinders from Zaccaria, Ballerini, and others. Clement XIII. condemned the work in 1764, and warned all the German bishops and archbishops to forbid that it should be read by the faithful. By the advice of his archbishop, Hontheim published his retractation in 1778, whereat Pope Pius VI. in full consistory expressed his satisfaction. Hontheim however had handed in to the archbishop a commentary on his retractation, in which he plainly showed that he held to his former opinions. Every engine was set in operation by the Court of Rome to crush this dangerous opponent, already advanced in age, but, owing to the protection accorded him by the archbishop, it was unable to do so. He died in 1790. His views had been warmly embraced by not only the men who were seriously desirous for the restoration of religious activity in the Church, but also by those who were sceptical in their opinions, and hoped

by dissociating the Church from Rome to bring her under the control of the State.

Maria Theresa had been desirous to improve the condition of studies in the seminaries for the clergy, and had taken energetic measures to correct the evils attendant on the extortion by ecclesiastics of pious legacies from dying persons. Pope Clement XIV., a man of great enlightenment, filling the apostolic throne at the time, pronounced the sentence of the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773; Frederick II. of Prussia, however, behaved towards the Order with more indulgence than the Catholic princes; he suffered the suppressed Jesuits to retain their schools and colleges, and the fathers continued to teach in them under a changed name.

In the following year, 1774, Clement died, as was generally believed poisoned by the Jesuits, and his successor favoured them; but the restoration and rehabilitation of the Order did not take place till 1814, by Pius VII., after the fall of Napoleon. Joseph II., the eccentric son of Maria Theresa, was an enthusiastic reformer, but without the perseverance and judgment that could make his reform generally salutary. He abolished the mendicant orders in his domains, and closed six hundred and twenty-four monasteries; those monastic orders which remained he placed under the jurisdiction and supervision of the bishops. The German hymns of the ex-Jesuit Denis were introduced into the Catholic churches, and papal bulls were not suffered to be published till warranted by

his *placet.* The Pope, Pius VI., alarmed at the reforming spirit of Joseph, and the innovations he was introducing into the management of the Church, crossed the Alps in hope of exerting his personal influence on Joseph to stay his hand. But the emperor was not to be moved: when Pius arrived in Vienna, he treated him with studied discourtesy.

Rautenstrauch, Abbot of Braunau and director of theologic studies in Vienna, laboured to improve the course of teaching of candidates for orders; and the emperor closed all the diocesan seminaries and created some of his own, to which he appointed professors, thus entirely removing the education of the clergy from the supervision of the Church. When the Bishop of Göritz expressed his dissatisfaction, Joseph suppressed his see and banished him. The professors he appointed to the universities, to the chairs which were attended by candidates for orders, were in many cases free-thinkers. The professor of Biblical exegesis at Vienna was an ex-Jesuit, Monsperger, an advanced rationalist and Deist. In 1783 Joseph issued an order relative to the mode of administration of public worship, and in 1786 allowed Latin to be replaced in it by German. He no longer made celibacy obligatory on the clergy, and promulgated a new table of commandments, which he required children to be instructed in, in the schools.

Joseph had the support of the Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, Trèves, and Salzburg, who desired to found a German National Church. A congress

was held at Ems, 1786, in which twenty-three articles for the reform of the Church were agreed upon. The prelates demanded the restoration of canonical independence of Rome, and the reduction of charges for the conferring of the pall, and of annates, to a moderate sum; they required that questions relative to marriage dispensations should be considered on the spot by the bishops, and not at Rome, that papal bulls should be subjected to their consideration, and not published in their dioceses without their consent, and that they should themselves engage in necessary reforms of Church discipline and order. The suffragan bishops were not, however, prepared to go as far as the archbishops, the Bishop of Speyer especially protesting against the expulsion of the See of Rome from a place of supremacy she had occupied for more than a thousand years. The Nuncio Pacca at Cologne sent round a notice to the clergy in the archdiocese warning them against accepting from the archbishop those dispensations which the pope alone could grant. As Pius VI. was alarmed, and unable to coerce the archbishops through the arm of the emperor, he had recourse to bribery, and he succeeded in bringing the prelates who had signed the Ems articles into abandonment of their reforming plans, by giving to the Archbishop of Trèves the quinquennials of the Diocese of Augsburg, and the granting of a Dalberg as coadjutor to the Archbishop of Mainz, and by various other concessions. Finally, in 1789, the three episcopal electors abandoned their opposition to the Roman

see. They never had been serious in their desires for real reform.

Clemens Wenceslas, Duke of Saxony, Bishop of Freising, of Augsburg and of Ratisbon, was Archbishop of Trèves; he was possessed of about as much theological knowledge as might be expected from a good-natured cavalry officer, which had been his previous profession. The kind of theology taught at Trèves under such auspices may be judged by the fact that, in 1789, one of the canons, named Oehmbs, published a book on the Trinity, in which he endeavoured to prove that the doctrine of the Unity of the Three Persons was first introduced into theology in the twelfth century, and this book was approved and recommended by the theological faculty of the university of Trèves; it was, however, censured by that of Cologne.

The archiepiscopal and electoral throne of Cologne was held by Maximilian Francis, brother of the Emperor Joseph, and he held along with the archbishopric the see of Münster, with its great Westphalian territories. In 1777 Maximilian Frederick, his predecessor, had founded the university of Bonn, with the object of affording a more liberal and less scholastic education than that of Cologne. The pope had, however, refused to recognise it, because the archbishop refused to dismiss a professor who held views similar to those of Hontheim. This refusal, however, only caused the archbishop to procure a diploma from the emperor raising Bonn in 1784 to the rank of a university. His plans were thoroughly

carried out by Maximilian Francis of Austria, and the principal authorities of his new university were disciples of Febronius, and some of rationalistic tendency. The most conspicuous of the professors was Hedderich, Professor of Canon Law, who issued numerous works, which were condemned four times in Rome. According to his teaching the episcopal authority was the highest in the Church, and the pope was merely one among coequal bishops, a patriarch, but no sovereign. Papal infallibility was historically undemonstrable, and had never been promised by Christ; controversies in ecclesiastical matters should not be referred to Rome, but to national judges. The Professor of Church History, Spitz, admitted a primacy to the See of Rome, but made the pope subject to the decisions of a General Council. He called in question the fact of the Church of Rome having been founded and governed by S. Peter. Another professor was Froitzheim, who taught canon law and followed Van Espen and Febronius. The most radical in his views was Schneider, formerly a Franciscan, Professor of Greek and Literature. He was a complete and cynical rationalist. The Elector, hearing evil reports concerning his teaching, instituted a commission to examine into their truth. The commission demanded his dismissal. The archbishop-elector, however, merely advised Schneider to be more cautious for the future, and retained him in his position. Thereupon Schneider published a catechism in which much Christian doctrine was rudely handled, and not a

word was spoken of the divinity of Christ or of the Redemption, and this catechism was actually issued with the sanction of the archbishop, but provoked so great scandal that the elector forbade its further issue. Schneider had to leave Bonn, and finally lost his head under the guillotine in Paris, 1794.

We pass now to the see of S. Boniface, the archbishopric of Mainz. French manners and morality had lately been in fashion at the court of this electorate. The archbishop, Emmerich Joseph, introduced various reforms both in Church and State ; but it was his successor, the last Elector of Mainz, Frederick Charles Joseph of Ehrthal (1774–1802), who did most for the furtherance of advanced views in his diocese.

Emmerich Joseph was an excellent prince, a zealous defender of the liberties of the German Church and a protector of Hontheim. He was simple in life and blameless in morals, but rationalistic in his views. He put down the monks and friars, who had lost all respect in his diocese, and he even favoured the Calvinists. He suffered Voltaire's essay on Toleration to be published at Mainz, and the works of Voltaire, Bayle, and Helvetius to pass through the hands of the students in logic. He allowed the free circulation of Luther's German Bible, and abolished the observance of a number of festivals. The great ambition of his successor, Frederick Charles Joseph of Ehrthal, was to be a German Leo X.: the court at Mainz under him was utterly heathenish in religion and morals.

Women formed the main elements of the court of the first spiritual pastor of Catholic Germany. "I saw the elector in his lodge," wrote a traveller in 1798, "at the theatre, surrounded by dressed-up ladies, and was told that they were the ladies-in-waiting on the Archbishop of Mainz. Eight years before this little book appeared, the arch-shepherd had gone to Frankfort to the coronation of the emperor, with a train of 1,500 attendants, among whom, as the Knight von Lang says in his memoirs, and he was an eye-witness, were a capon-maker and a child's nurse."

This precious archbishop appointed Protestants and Rationalists to places about himself, and encouraged, or allowed the professors of the university to speak of the doctrine of the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ as a doctrine of late growth in the Church. When the papal nuncio interfered, the elector bade him mind his own business.

As an instance of the condition of the chapters in Germany we may quote that of Mainz during the reign of this elector, immediately before the outbreak of revolution and the European war.

The chapter consisted of twenty-two canons and fifteen minor canons, every one of whom before he was admitted was obliged to prove his descent from sixteen noble ancestors, eight of noble blood on the father's, and the same number on the mother's side. The slightest admixture of plebeian blood excluded absolutely. Several of the canons held cumulative benefices. The dean held a court like a prince ; each canon was bound to one month's residence. There

were in addition to the cathedral chapter four other churches in Mainz with capitular bodies all likewise richly endowed.

Between 1727 and 1744 reigned Leopold Anthony von Firmian, as archbishop and prince of Salzburg. His predecessor had furnished, with the utmost splendour and luxury, the magnificent palace erected in the time of the Thirty Years' War. It was supplied with a great riding arena, and with a whirligig of horses and chairs and boats in which the archbishop and his court could revolve to music, on rainy days. One very similar can still be seen in the palace of the Bishop of Würzburg. Leopold Anthony is known chiefly by his expulsion of the Protestant peasants from his territories, to the number of about 30,000, in 1732. They were received everywhere on their way with the greatest enthusiasm, were given lands and houses by Frederick William I. of Prussia in Lithuania, others settled at Nürnberg, where they originated the manufacture of toys which still continues there as a flourishing business. About 10,000 went to America, where they founded the colony of Ebenezer in Georgia. Archbishop Firmian was a passionate huntsman. The time not consumed in the chase was spent by him in the society of his mistress, the Countess Arco. The next prelate, Jerome Joseph, Count of Colleredo (1772–1803), was an Italian, and hated everything German. He attempted reforms in his territories, after the fashion of Joseph II. He took part in the Congress of Ems in 1785, already mentioned. He issued a pastoral letter in 1782, urging his people to

read the Bible, and he abolished such customs as he held to be superstitious, and introduced a new German hymn-book.

Some idea of the court held by these prelates may be gathered from the list of officials attached to it. In 1707 the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg consisted of:—1. A high steward, Count Firmian; 2. A high chamberlain, Count Arco; 3. A marshal, Count Seeau; 4. Master of the Stables, Count Khuenburg; 5. Master of the Chase, Count Herberstein; 6. Master of the Body Guard, Count Lodron; 7. Master of the Kitchen, Count Thun; 8. Chancellor, a Noble von Molk. To these must be added the hereditary holders of office. Of these there were four: the hereditary grand marshal, the hereditary grand chamberlain, the hereditary grand butler, and the hereditary grand steward—all counts. There were in addition twenty-four privy councillors, a consistory court, a court of justice, a military cabinet, and a cabinet of finance, all with counts at their head as presidents. The archbishop, moreover, maintained a standing army of 1,000 men; and had ambassadors and representatives at the courts of Vienna, Rome, Munich, &c.

In the Protestant states the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes exercised, after the peace of Westphalia, a despotic jurisdiction in matters of religion. The sovereign was possessed of supreme authority in three matters: first, he granted the free exercise of religion only according to that form of faith which he approved, any other form might or might not be

tolerated, according as he was liberally minded or the reverse; secondly, he exercised episcopal right of investigating and ordering the internal condition of the Church; and thirdly, he exercised patronage and external protection. He was not merely the visible head of the Church, of whatever sort it was in his realm, but he was also the foundation-stone on which the entire structure rested. In 1737, Frederick William I. convoked a synod of the Prussian clergy at Köslen, and issued cabinet orders for the regulation of public worship. Hitherto in the Lutheran Church lighted tapers, vestments, and surplices had been used, as they still are in the Lutheran establishments of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The king abolished the use of vestments, lights, and surplices, and issued orders concerning the administration of the sacraments and the mode of preaching. His son, Frederick II. was completely indifferent in all matters of religion. He swept away his father's orders, restored the use of lights and vestments, and openly ridiculed religion. On the introduction of a new chorale-book, against which some parishes had protested, in 1780, he wrote, "Let every one do as he likes, sing 'Now may the forests rest,' or any other foolery that pleases him." He cut down the number of Church festivals, and altered the constitution of the Church by mandate, placing the clergy under the control of a supreme consistory appointed by, and dependent on, the crown. The inferior clergy were demoralised by the system of patronage. The pastors were usually tutors in noble houses, treated as menials, and not infrequently

a spiritual charge was given to the obsequious candidate who consented to marry a cast-off mistress of the patron. Others were granted preferment on condition of alienating Church property to the patrons. To such an extent did the former abuse prevail that in Hildburghausen an oath was imposed in 1746 on the pastors, that they had not by this means acquired their cure of souls. Among the more intelligent of the pastors rationalism made rapid strides, and where there was not rationalism or indifferentism there broke out the fire of Pietism, leading to strange excesses.

XXI.

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

The French Revolution—Suppression of the Ecclesiastical Electorates after the Peace of Luneville—The Empire comes to an end—Congress of Vienna—The Resettlement of the Dioceses in Germany by Papal Bulls—The Schism of Ronge—The "German-Catholic Church"—Its End—The Decree of Papal Infallibility—The "Alt-Katholik Church"—Its Decline—The Kultur-Kampf—Despotic Conduct of the Princes in the matter of Religion—The Suppression of the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches and Erection of an Evangelical Church—Decline of Faith among German Protestants—What Prospect is in Store for Religion in Germany.

THE storm that burst over Europe after the outbreak of the French Revolution brought finally and for ever to an end that state of affairs in the Church in Germany which had been its bane from the time of the Merovingian Frank monarchs, and which had subsisted notwithstanding the struggles of the Thirty Years' War. By the peace of Luneville (1801) and by decree of the Imperial Diet in 1803, the three spiritual electorates of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne were abolished. The spiritual principalities and foundations fell to France or to the German princes. All ecclesiastical property was secularised, but the princes

undertook in return to maintain the clergy and provide for the support of divine worship. Not only did the three electorates disappear, but also the free principalities of the bishopries of Salzburg, Liége, Passau, Trent, and Brixen ; also Constance, Bamberg, Freisingen, Eichstadt, Würzburg ; also Münster, Hildesheim, Paderborn, and Osnabrück, together with a multitude of abbeys and convents. As some of these estates passed to the principalities of Protestants, the Roman Catholic Church was left in an unprotected condition in their hands, and very high-handed conduct with respect to the Church ensued. When Mainz fell to France, the primate Dalberg had his see transferred to Ratisbon. Many of the bishops died during the European commotion, and many sees were left vacant. The pope appointed apostolic vicars or general vicars to govern the orphaned dioceses, but these men were looked on with mistrust, and their interference was resented.

The empire of Charlemagne came to an end in 1806, when Francis II. was forced to resign the imperial crown of Germany. Through the dissolution of the empire the condition of the Church became worse. Every prince was now made independent. Hitherto the emperor had been a nominal, though an ineffective, protector of the Catholic Church. The powers of the princes, through the acquisition of ecclesiastical lands and of free imperial cities, had largely increased. The union of the most powerful of the sovereigns of Europe in restoring order, in curbing the ambition of Napoleon, and in the

preservation of the independence of the nationalities they governed, was popularly known as the Holy Alliance. Napoleon fell, and then ensued a period of reaction and restitution. Among the first of the powers reinstated was the papacy, and among the first acts of the Pope, Pius VII., was the re-establishment "in all countries" of the Order of the Jesuits, which had been suppressed by Clement XIV. In Germany no thought was entertained of giving back to the bishops and abbots their territorial principalities. Bavaria by a concordat in 1817 gave to the Church all her privileges as "by canon law," but at once neutralised this concession by a constitutional act granting liberty of conscience and of worship to all her subjects. Austria objected to the reintroduction of the Jesuits and to a concordat, and no change was made in the old legislation of Joseph.

But it was otherwise with the Protestant States which had swollen through accession of territory containing a Catholic population. These princes entered into direct communication with the Pope for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs among their Roman Catholic subjects. These negotiations, which stretched intermittently over a space between the Restoration of 1815 and the Revolution of 1830, placed the German Catholic Church in a position of immediate subjection to the Roman See, and displaced nationalism as a possible basis for the reorganization of the German Church. This was a new departure. Throughout the Middle Ages there had been a desire more or less loudly expressed by the German Church

for independence and internal reformation, and though this had been expressed again just previous to the great Revolution, it had never been carried into effect; now the princes, all but the Bavarian, Protestant, with strange blindness themselves welded the chains which bound the Catholic Church to Rome, and made of the bishops and clergy in their realms mere creatures of the papacy.

In 1814 the German lands on the left bank of the Rhine were recovered from France, and the Congress of Vienna resettled the map of Germany. In Würtemberg, the Catholic subjects who came to that new kingdom out of the former dioceses of Constance, Würzburg, Worms and Speyer were placed under a papal vicar-general stationed at Ellwangen. Bavaria concluded a concordat with Rome in 1817–21. The affairs of the Church in Prussia were determined by papal bull in 1821. Hanover signed a concordat with the pope, in 1824, for the dioceses of Hildesheim and Osnabrück. In 1821 a bull of Pius VII. settled the matters of the Church in Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Nassau, and Oldenburg.

The diocesan organisation in Germany and Austria was as follows—

1. The Archbishopric of Cologne with the suffragan churches of Trèves, Münster, and Paderborn. 2. The Archbishopric of Gnesen-Posen, with one suffragan, Culm. 3. The Archbishopric of Freiburg in Baden, with Mainz, Fulda, Rottenburg, Limburg, as suffragans; 4. The Archbishopric of Bamberg, with under it as suffragans, Würzburg, Eichstädt, and Speyer. 5. The

province of München-Freising with the suffragan dioceses of Augsburg, Ratisbon, and Passau ; 6. Salzburg, with Brixen, Trent, Seckau, Gurk, and Lavant ; 7. Görz with Laibach, Trieste, Parenzo-Pola, Veglia ; 8. Vienna, with S. Pölten and Linz ; 9. Prague with Leitmeritz, Königgräz, and Budweis ; 10. Olmütz with Brunn. Exempt bishoprics are Breslau, Ermland, Hildesheim, and Osnabrück ; an apostolic vicar was appointed for Saxony, with his seat in Dresden. Since the war of 1871, Strasburg and Metz, immediate bishoprics under the Holy See, are also accounted German.

The teaching of George Hermes, who sought a philosophic basis for Christianity, excited a good deal of attention among Catholics in Germany, and procured him many adherents. His teaching was condemned by the pope in 1835, when Clemens Augustus von Droste, Archbishop of Cologne, endeavoured to force on his clergy a formulary of rejection of the Hermesian teaching, which brought him into conflict with the Prussian government. Later, in 1837, as he persisted in opposition to mixed marriages between Protestants and Catholics, the government banished him from his see ; the Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen was treated even more severely by the State for the same cause ; he was deposed and imprisoned. On the accession of Frederick William I. (1840) the Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen was restored, but the Archbishop of Cologne was induced to resign.

In 1844 the exhibition of the Holy Coat at Trèves, the relic being supposed to be the seamless vesture of

Christ, led to the protest of a priest named John Ronge, and the foundation of a sect of "German Catholics," or the "Christian Apostolic Catholic Church." It occasioned much interest at first, but rapidly degenerated into a small assembly of malcontents, who rejected one point of doctrine and discipline after another. They had formed as many as 200 parishes in 1846, with 60,000 adherents. The sect has dwindled to between 8,000 and 9,000, and in doctrine has lapsed into rationalistic theism.

Ronge, the founder of this sect, was born in 1813 in Silesia; he was deposed from his chaplaincy at Grotthau on account of the publication of a tract, "Rome and the Chapter of Breslau," in 1843, and in 1844 he attacked the Bishop of Trèves relative to the Holy Coat. Ronge was not a man of deep religious sentiment, nor was he a man of organizing power. He was joined by another priest, John Czerski. Their writings against the preposterous exhibition of the Holy Coat created great attention, and numerous Catholics, disgusted at the proceedings at Trèves, united to form a Church purified from superstitious usages. They held the first council of the "German Catholic Church" in 1845, which was attended by thirty delegates from fifteen parishes. At this council fifty-one articles of faith were agreed upon; the Holy Scriptures were decreed to be the basis of all faith, but the interpretation of the same was free to every one. A creed, which was not obligatory, was drawn up, in this form: "I believe in God the Father, who through His almighty Word created the world,

and rules it in wisdom, righteousness, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ, our Saviour. I believe in the Holy Ghost, in one Holy Catholic Christian Church, in the forgiveness of sins, and in eternal life." The council rejected the primacy of the See of Rome, auricular confession, celibacy, invocation of saints, veneration of relics and images, indulgences, pilgrimages, and acknowledged two sacraments only, Baptism and the Eucharist, and communion in both kinds. A liturgy was drawn up on the basis of the Mass, but with the omission of the canon. The Church was to be Presbyterian, and the clergy to be elected by the congregations. The movement became general. Many parishes joined the German Catholic Church, and a good many priests gave in their adhesion to it. Before the end of the year, the sect numbered 170 parishes with 41 pastors, of whom 15 had been Protestant ministers; the rest were renegade priests, or candidates for the priesthood. In 1848 the sect in Vienna numbered 3,200 members; in Nürnberg, 5,000; in Bavaria, 2,300.

Mr. S. Laing in 1845 published his observations on the "German Catholic Church." He gave all the formularies of faith drawn up by the various congregations in this Church. Then he says, very truly: "A weak point will strike the reader who peruses attentively the mass of doctrine set forth in the above confessions of faith. They consist almost entirely of negative, not of positive doctrine—of the negation of erroneous dogmas of the Church of Rome, rather than of affirmation of other right dogmas

. . . . . Negation will not sustain a sect. The simple non-reception of doctrines will not burn up into a flame of active zeal, although it may passively endure to the utmost for the sake of truth. It wants the element of acting and spreading, like positive doctrine. The Deists or Unitarians have always languished as religious sects, because their denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, their negation of the Divine nature of our Saviour, give no positive dogma for the mind to lay hold of. The Mormons flourish, because they not merely deny, but affirm, and give something positive, however absurd, to the vulgar mind."*

The "German Catholics" were much involved in 1848 in the revolutionary agitation, and several of the members were severely compromised ; and when the third council assembled, in 1850, at Köthen, and the delegates of 100 communities appeared to attend it, it was dissolved by order of the prince at the request of the Prussian and Saxon governments. The communities of "German Catholics" in Austria were suppressed by government, by edict of 1851. So also in Bavaria. In Prussia all such congregations as were compromised by political agitation were dissolved, and their members subjected to the control of the police. A good many of the members, finding that the down grade led to blank infidelity, returned to the Roman Catholic Church, but the majority lapsed into irreligion. In 1858, when a new era of

* 'Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the German-Catholic Church,' by S. Laing, London, 1845, p. 112.

religious liberty dawned in Prussia, the "German Catholics" were found to number ninety communities, but for the most part without enthusiasm, and lapsed into complete religious lethargy. Ronge, who had fled to England in 1849 as a political refugee, returned to Germany in 1861, and recommenced his polemics against the Roman Church. A council was held at Frankfort in 1863, but was very thinly attended. The new Church, which had numbered 70,000 souls, had rapidly dwindled down into an inconsiderable sect of about 10,000 souls in 1875, and after the formation of the new sect of the "Old Catholics," such as were least rationalistic joined it, whereas the rest became nothingarians, so that the "German Catholic Church" has almost ceased to exist.

In 1848, for the first time for many centuries, Italy became the focus of revolt against mediævalism and ecclesiastical despotism. During the pontificate of Gregory XVI. the influence of Austria and the Papacy united had crushed out all hopes of political and religious regeneration, but those ideas which had been scattered broadcast over Europe at the Revolution had taken root also in Italy, and were springing up on all sides. Sardinia had taken up a position as the advocate of a moderate Liberalism, and Gioberti, in 1843, urged the Church to seek in that direction the renewal of her influence and authority as a leader of the people in their emancipation from a bondage that to mind and body was becoming intolerable.

In the midst of the excitement roused by these

ideas, the papal throne became vacant, and Mastai Ferretti, an Italian, supposed to be in sympathy with this grand conception of the vocation of the Holy See, was elected, under the name of Pius IX., to be a liberal pope and to inaugurate a new reign of experiment in the conciliation of Catholicism with the aspirations, not of Italians only, but of liberal-minded religious men everywhere, and to oppose Austria, now especially the representative of reaction.

Whilst national feeling in Italy was full of hope, a revolution broke out in Switzerland in 1847 that led to the expulsion of the Jesuits. Suddenly, in February 1848, the unease of Europe was converted into universal excitement by the Paris Revolution and the flight of Louis Philippe. In Piedmont, Tuscany, Naples, and Rome, constitutional government was promised. Pius IX., frightened at what he deemed the excesses of the revolutionary party, fled from Rome. The troops of Louis Napoleon besieged the Roman Commune. The Buonapartist President restored the temporal rule of the Pope, who returned to the Vatican with his liberal sympathies winnowed out of him, and thenceforth he threw all his weight into reaction against Liberalism of every sort.

In 1864 Pius IX. issued the Encyclical and the Syllabus. In the former he reiterated his predecessor's condemnation of the "liberty of conscience" of the individual, and of its exercise, whether "by the voice," or by "the press." He added to it a syllabus, or collection of the principal errors of the time that he condemned. Beginning with a denunciation of

rationalism, he went on to condemn all liberality of view as to the relations that should subsist between Church and State, and as to the rights of the individual conscience. The syllabus, which was a defiance of all those principles for which the people were contending throughout Europe, and on which modern governments are and must be based, was very ill received by the Catholic governments. Two days before its publication the pope proposed a still stronger move, the summoning of a general council, in which the papal supremacy and infallibility might be proclaimed as an article of faith. It was not, however, till the year 1867, that this project was authoritatively announced, and it at once provoked remonstrances from theologians of note and judgment in Germany, Austria, and France. Hitherto the papacy had leaned heavily upon Austria as the mainstay of a rigid and narrow Conservatism, but this prop was knocked away from under her. By the defeat of Sadowa Austria-Hungary was reduced to great straits, and the emperor was forced to abandon his former position, and to undertake to govern according to constitutional principles. The fundamental article of the Austrian constitution of 1867 on the head of religion is the concession of full and entire liberty of conscience, in contravention of the dogmas of the Syllabus. The last great Catholic state, the sole state remaining that had upheld the old order of things, had given way to the modern principles of liberty, and by the laws of 1868 these were applied in detail and with fairness to questions of education

and mixed marriages and proselytism, in contravention to the terms of the concordat entered into by the State with the Papacy in 1855, but which was not formally abolished till 1874, when the constitutional law was revised, by which the Catholic Church, though privileged, is only classed as one of other religious bodies acknowledged by the State. The emperor-king nominates the bishops, and the State has a veto on other ecclesiastical appointments, and exercises control over the monastic orders.

The great defection of Austria from the principles of Ultramontanism was most keenly felt in Rome because it followed not only the change in the balance of power in Germany, where now Protestant Prussia became predominant, but also because Venice and the Quadrilateral had been snatched from Austria and given to the liberal kingdom of Italy.

The only hope for the restoration of the old condition of affairs was felt to be the depression of Prussia; were that crushed, Austria-Hungary might repent of her constitutionalism, and gain heart to revert to despotism and intolerance. There is reason to believe that the incitement to the great war between France and Germany came from Rome. The great Council of the Vatican was to meet in 1869, and if simultaneously with the promulgation of the decree of Papal Infallibility that would stamp the syllabus as "of faith," Prussia were levelled in the dust, Austria and France might join hands over her body to restore in some fashion the supremacy of the Church, and to defeat the aspirations of Italy.

The Vatican Council met in December 1869, with a larger attendance of bishops than had met at any council before. Of these the majority were in favour of the decrees proposed to them, and the opposition that at first manifested itself was gradually broken down, so that at the final vote on 18th July, 1870, there remained but two dissentients ; and the Infallibility of the Pope in all questions of Faith and Morals was proclaimed.

On September 2nd, the Second Empire collapsed at Sedan. The French garrison had already been withdrawn from Rome. Jules Favre on the part of the new Government released Italy from the bargain of 1864, withholding Italy from incorporating the Papal States, and at the end of the same month of September the temporal power fell for ever, and Rome and its territory was annexed to the kingdom of Italy. That was the answer of Divine Providence to the decree of July 18th.

The promulgation of this decree had aroused indignation among the more learned professors and theologians of the Catholic Church in Germany, as it formulated a doctrine impossible to reconcile with history, and many of the teachers in the Universities of Munich, Prague, Freiburg, Bonn, and Breslau, refused to receive it. At an assembly held in Nürnberg, on August 27th, fourteen professors signed a protest against the doctrine and appealed to the German bishops to hold a council in Germany to consider this novel tenet of faith forced on the Church. Thereupon Professors Döllinger and Friedrich, leaders

in the movement, were suspended and excommunicated; so were other professors in other universities—Reinkens of Breslau, Michelis of Braunsberg, Von Schulte of Prague, &c. The professors and clergy thus suspended and excommunicated assembled and organized a Church which they termed the "Old Catholic Church." The opposition to the novel doctrine spread, whole parishes passed over to the new movement. Reinkens was consecrated bishop in 1873 at Rotterdam by the Dutch Jansenist Bishop Heydekamp of Deventer, contrary to the Nicene canon which requires that three bishops should concur in the conference of episcopal orders. By encyclical of Pius IX. he was excommunicated, but he received recognition from the State in Prussia by Royal order, and in Prussia and Baden a grant of annual income was made to him. The states of Prussia and Baden gave the use of the churches equally to Roman and Old Catholics, but by brief of 1875 the pope forbade Roman Catholics from using churches in common with the new schismatics.

In 1878 there existed in Baden as many as twenty-three parishes under Old Catholic pastors, in Hesse five, in Prussia thirty-six, in Bavaria thirty-four, and the number of clergy was about fifty. The total number of nominal Old Catholics in Germany is reckoned at about 50,000. If I may judge by my own experience, and I have visited the churches of a good many communities in Baden and Switzerland that are Old Catholic, and have attended the services

there, nothing can be conceived more dead and spiritless than these are.

At Säckingen on the Rhine the abbey church was given over to the Old Catholics. On one Sunday out of a population of 3624 souls the only attendance on divine worship was six persons. At Thiengen, where the parish church was in their hands, the attendance was about the same. At Laufenburg, a town on the Swiss side of the Rhine, that has been in the hands of the Old Catholics since 1872, no one goes to church except some of the cantonal officials. I often attended the Old Catholic service at Freiburg, in Breisgau, and never heard there a sermon that was not acrimonious and polemical, and anything but calculated to edify. At Berne, the congregation one Sunday in the stately church taken from the Roman Catholics and given over to the Old Catholics, consisted of thirty-four; of these, half went out after the sermon and did not remain for the mass. In all these towns the Roman Catholic temporary churches, or those secured to the Romans, were crowded to overflow. The chief adherents of the Old Catholics are such Roman Catholics as have contracted marriage with Protestants, unions not permitted by the Roman Church except where a covenant is entered into that the children shall be brought up in the Catholic faith. To escape this difficulty, and not to give up their religion wholly for mere negation, a good many Roman Catholics enrol themselves as Old Catholics, but belong no further to them: they rarely, if ever, attend their religious services. The Old

Catholic movement was a professorial one, and never really touched the people; it has proved a door through which Romanists may escape from irksome obligations whilst salving over their consciences with the belief that they are not renouncing the faith. The whole movement impresses the impartial observer as struck with paralysis that will as fatally affect it as it did the similar attempt of Ronge. No conclusion as to the strength of the Old Catholic Church can be drawn from the number of communicants at Easter, as then great numbers of Roman Catholic men will communicate in the Alt-Katholik Church to avoid having to go to confession to their parish priests, and on no other occasion will they set foot within the schismatical Church. Nor can a conclusion be drawn from the number of members enrolled, as only a very small percentage of those thus enrolled go to church at all. "That is the worst of our Old-Catholics," said the sacristan to me at Säckingen, "they never attend divine worship, and are not even lukewarm."

Immediately on the conclusion of the Franco-German war, measures were taken in the new empire to exercise severe control over the Roman Catholic Church. On July 4th, 1872, the Emperor William signed at Ems a law expelling the Jesuits and their affiliated orders from the German Empire. On May 20th, 1873, this condemnation was extended to the Redemptorists, Lazarists, and other congregations. On July 8th, 1871, the ministry of the Catholic religion in the kingdom of Prussia was suppressed, and one ministry of religion was constituted for

Catholics and Protestants together. By law of May 11th, 1873, every priest, before entering on a cure of souls, was required to have passed through examination in a German gymnasium, and to have spent three years in a German university. It forbade candidates for orders residing in a seminary whilst studying in the university. By law of December 6th, 1873, bishops were required to make oath of submission to these and other vexatious laws.

On May 21st, 1874, additional provisions were made, rendering it penal for a priest to exercise any religious function, unless he had his ticket of qualification from the State, and authorising the parish or State to appoint a priest to a vacant cure without the consent of the bishop, should he nominate contrary to the law. Other laws affecting the Catholic Church were passed, more or less intolerable. The seminaries were closed, fines were levied on bishops who nominated to cures without obtaining the qualifying tickets. The bishops could not and would not submit. Thereupon the Archbishops of Cologne, Trèves, and Gnesen-Posen were imprisoned, fined, and deposed. The Bishops of Breslau, Münster, and Paderborn were treated in the same manner. The Archbishopric of Freiburg, vacated by death, was left unfilled; so also were Mainz, Fulda, Würzburg, Speyer, and München-Freising. The Bishop of Münster, driven into exile and deposed, was represented by his vicar-general: he was forced to fly the country to escape imprisonment. In 1878 as many as seventy parishes in that diocese were without pastors, and none could be

appointed. The flocks refused to accept those nominated by the State, and none appointed by the bishop were allowed by the State to occupy the vacant churches. In the archdiocese of Breslau there were eighty-three without pastors, on the Lower Rhine thirty-seven, in Paderborn sixty-eight. The condition of affairs became so bad, the deadlock so complete, that of late years, first in Baden and then in Prussia, a relaxation of the stringency of the laws affecting the Church was allowed, and a *modus vivendi* established.

It is probable that when the Kultur Kampf (the Culture War), this attempt to control the education of the clergy and the discipline of the Church, was undertaken, it was thought that it could be carried through with as much ease as had been the many laws issued for the regulation of the Evangelical communities. But the instigators of the "May Laws" had forgotten one thing:—when the Sovereigns of Germany, at the conclusion of the European war, negotiated directly with the Pope for the restoration of the Catholic religion in their lands, they placed the bishops and clergy unreservedly in his hands. No provision was then made that diocesan rule should be in accordance with canon law. The bishops were converted by force of circumstances into creatures of Rome, and the clergy into creatures of the bishops. The curia took care to make the bishop entirely dependent on its favour, and he, in turn, ruled his clergy as a body of serfs. The State had only itself to thank for having denationalised the clergy, and could not by a few

ill-considered and violent laws alter the state of their feelings and their disposition towards the State.

The passive resistance of the clergy and laity, standing on their own ground, and acting together in complete agreement, succeeded in the end. The laity had recognised their own priests, even when suspended by government, and had resolutely refused to receive others; and both priests and laity insisted upon the Church regulating its own theological education.

Prussia and Baden became weary of the contest. In 1880 and 1881 the "May Laws" were suspended, and, after negotiation with Leo XIII., they were to a large extent repealed. By this change, completed in April, 1887, the obligations of civil marriage and the vesting of Catholic property in the hands of lay trustees were retained, but the legislative interference with the administration of the Church, including the education required for the priesthood, was wholly abandoned.

The Prussian Government had entirely miscalculated its power with the Church. It had been led to this by the facility with which the most radical alterations had been effected by it in the Protestant establishment.

In 1817, Frederick William III. of Prussia called upon his Lutheran and Calvinistic subjects to celebrate the jubilee of the Reformation by uniting into one community. The project was at first favourably received; and a commission of the clergy proposed combining with it the formation of a

presbytery of pastor and laymen in each parish, with synods for the department. This proposal for self-government in the church was, however, distasteful to the king; and the only place where it was carried out was in Rhenish Prussia. Elsewhere the king pressed on the union by his sole authority as chief bishop and supreme head of Protestantism.

In 1839, by mandate, Calvinism and Lutheranism in the Prussian States were suppressed; and a new Church was created, to which the king gave the title of the Evangelical Church, with a constitution and a liturgy of his own drawing up. The Protestant communities in Baden, Nassau, Hesse, and the Bavarian Palatinate have in like manner been fused and organised into a new establishment. In Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover existed Lutheran Churches; they also have been abolished, and the Evangelical Church set up in their room. The old Lutherans bitterly resented this interference, as an exercise of the royal supremacy beyond what they conceived to be its powers; and they resisted the change, refused to attend the services and communicate in the new Church, and clung to their dispossessed pastors. Their number was, however, extremely small, and consisted almost exclusively of elderly people attached to old ideas.

The new Evangelical Church has no definite creed: the old confessions, and creed, and articles, and catechisms were allowed to remain, but not as of any dogmatic authority. Very little opposition was roused by this high-handed conduct. Almost every-

where clergy and congregations accepted what their sovereigns imposed on them, not because they thought that they had been in error, and now were right, but because they were supremely indifferent.

Two or three country parishes, into which the spirit of indifference had not penetrated, alone resisted the royal will. The pastors were imprisoned, troops quartered upon the parishes, and above 600 peasants compelled to abandon their little freeholds, and fly from Protestant Germany to the wilds of America. By a Prussian charter of 1850 the Established Church was made independent of the State, but not of the king. In 1873, the Duke of Brunswick, as supreme head of the Evangelical Church in his duchy, issued an order for his pastors, what they were to believe, teach, and how to conduct worship.

The spirit of rationalism has gained enormous strides in a church which is without standards of faith. The Apostles' Creed is, indeed, found in the liturgy, and is used at baptisms ; but though found in the liturgy, is hardly ever read, and pastors are willing to baptise without the symbol.

The Evangelical clergy in Prussia desired to get rid of the creed altogether, but the Emperor William was obstructive. The same thing occurred in Baden, where the Grand Duke refused to consent to the desire of the majority of the Protestant consistory, to abandon that sole dogmatic statement of the verities of Christianity. The Evangelical Church in Hesse is equally corroded by unbelief. The present condition of affairs is deplorable indeed, definite faith is becoming

daily more rare in the Evangelical Church. The Old Catholic Church is dying of paralysis, and there remains only the Roman Church, that by a fatal error has been made by the princes Roman when it might have been national.

It is difficult to see on what principle the Evangelical establishment can fall back to recover strength and living faith. The authority of Scripture is no longer believed in. It has no Apostolic constitution; the links of continuity in faith and orders with the Primitive Church have been broken and cast away. A more helpless and piteous condition of affairs can hardly be conceived. Pietism lingers on, flickering up occasionally; for, constituted as man is, the spiritual element in him will manifest itself in some way or other. When there is belief in Scripture, pietism follows a course marked out for it through three centuries; but this trust in Scripture is becoming rapidly less in Germany, and will disappear altogether before the popular rationalistic education given everywhere, and encouraged by the pastors of the Church, who are themselves the last to believe in the inspiration of Scripture. There can be no falling back on Catholic antiquity and the Divine life of the Church, for the Evangelic Church is without Apostolic order, without Apostolic succession, without more than a few poor fragments of the Catholic faith, without secure rest on the doctrine of the Incarnation, the foundation of the Christian faith, and is a mere creation of the monarch.

What God may have in store for His people in

Germany, it is impossible to conjecture; some hopes were entertained at one time even by devout members of the Protestant establishment that the Alt-Katholik Church would serve as a city of refuge, and might expand into a National Church; but such a hope has been universally abandoned. That Protestant Germany will ever return to the Roman fold is not possible, as far as we can judge. The history of the Papacy and Fatherland bars that from ever taking place. As far as we can see, the only chance for Christianity in Protestant Germany is in a reconstitution of the Evangelical Church, with acceptance of the Catholic creeds as a basis, and with the introduction of genuine orders from England, and an Episcopal government linked by this means once more with the past.

A conduit cannot convey water if the connection with the fountain-head has been severed, and till reunited with the source of all grace through the sacred channels of God's own appointment, German Protestantism, as a body, must be separate from that common Catholic life which, wherever it is found, however hurt and weakened, carries with it recuperative force.

Such a revival as we have witnessed in the Church of England has been, and must be, impossible in German Protestantism. There may be, and there has been, great reawakening of the spiritual life in individuals; but there cannot be a regeneration of the Church corporeally without a recognition of the Church as the living mystical body of Christ, vivified

by Him, based on an immutable faith, connected with the springs of Divine grace by divinely-appointed Sacraments, and under a ministry, not of human creation, but of that spiritual filiation which "shall not pass away till all be fulfilled," descending through the Apostles from Christ, and exercising their functions not of men, but by Divine commission.

INDEX.

	PAGE
Abraham à S. Clara	356
S. Acharius, B. Noyon	51
S. Adelar	69
Adolf of Nassau	254–8
Æneas Sylvius	267
Aetius	23
S. Afra	11
Agilulphings	46
S. Agilus	46
Agnes, Empress	175
Agri Decumates	20–25
S. Agricius, B. Treves	3–6
Alamanni	3, 13–15, 20, 21, 44, 45
Alani	19
Alaric II.	25
Albert, B. Bremen	177–9
,, D. of Austria	256–8
Alcuin	79, 80, 120
Altfried of Weissemburg	119
Altman, B. Passau	198
Altmünster	51
Alto	51
S. Amandus, B. Maestricht	44–46
Amœneburg	61
Anabaptists	313, 314, 321–6
Anegrai	50
Anglo-Saxon Missions	58–64
S. Anno, Abp. Cologne	175–185
Appeals to Rome	212–216
Arbogast	29, 37
Arbon	44
Arnold, Gottfried	352–4
Arnold of Selnhofen	189–194
Arnulf, K.	129
S. Arnulf, B. Metz	44, 55
Aschaffenburg	51
Astura	13
S. Athanasius	6
Attila, K. Huns	13
S. Audœnus, B. Rouen	44
S. Audomar, B.	51
Augsburg	10, 11, 316, 334
Augusta Rauracorum	9
Ausonius	6, 7
S. Avitus, B. Vienne	32, 33
Babenberg Feud	130, 131
Bamberg	197
Basle	297–9, 327
Batava	13
Batavia	24, 28, 46–8
Bavaria	15, 46, 51, 62, 65–9, 71
Beghards	277–8
Belgæ	4
Benedict the Levite	115–7
S. Bernard	207–216, 222–4
Bernward, B. Hildesheim	162–6
Berthold of Henneberg	284–6
Bishops, Frank	38
,, Two at Once	40, 55
Bockelsohn	322–6
Boiodurum	13

PAGE

S. Boniface 58–75
Brabant 24
Brandenburg 313
Bregenz 44
Bremen . . . 95, 96, 195–6, 233
Brenz 312, 327
Brothers of the Sword . . 204
Brunichild 42, 43, 51
Bucer 341
Buraburg 69
Burgessdom 229–32
Burgundians 4, 46, 51, 62, 65–9, 71
S. Burkhard 64, 69
Burkhard III., B. Magdeburg 250–53

Cador 51
S. Cagnoald 51
Calvinism 330
Canisius, P. 343
Canons . . . 113, 124, 223, 365
Capuchins 346
Carlman 70–2
Carlstadt 312–3
Castellum Cucullæ . . . 13
Centule 51
Charibert 26
Charles the Great 76–116, 120, 139
,, V. 309–10
,, Martell . 56, 59–70, 115
Childebert I. . . . 26, 35, 42
,, II. 43
Childeric 30
Chilperic 30, 36, 42
Chivalry 227–8
Chlodomer 25
Chlodovech . . . 24, 25, 30–5
Chlothar I. 26
,, II. 26
Chlothachar I. . . . 35–6, 42
S. Chrodechild 30, 40
S. Chrodegang, B. Metz . 113–4
Chur 11
Clemens, B. Metz . . . 3, 9

PAGE

Clement XIV. 359
Clerical Marriage . . 126, 197–8
Cologne 3, 8, 24, 29, 124, 181–4 234–50, 316–8, 362, 370
S. Columbanus . . . 44, 50
Commagena 13
Concordats 301, 372
Conrad I., Emp. . . . 149–50
,, of Hochstetten . . 234–8
Constance 292–6
S. Corbinian 51
Councils 39, 41, 42, 55, 82, 120, 290, 297, 381–2
Crescens, B. Mainz . . . 3, 8
Crusades 201–5
Cyril, B. Treves 3

Dagobert, K. . . 26, 27, 46, 53
Decretals, False . 115–8, 122, 208
Desiderius, K. Lombards . 89
S. ,, B. Cahors . . . 44
S. Dié 51
Dietmar of Merseburg . . 167
Diets 334
Dispensations 289, 295
Dobda 51
Dukes, Discontent of, 105, 130, 157

Ebroin 54
Eckhard, Master . . . 277–8
Eichstädt 71
S. Emmeran, B. 46–7
Encyclical of 1864 . . . 379
Engelbert, B. Cologne . 238–50
Epistolæ obs. Virorum . 273–4
Erasmus 272–3, 339
S. Erembert, B. 89
Erkinger 132–4
Estates of the Church . . 217–8
Esthonia 205
Eugenius IV. 297–9
S. Eustasius, Ab. 46
Evangelical Church founded 389

PAGE

Febronius 357
Ferdinand II., Emp. . . . 345
Finland. 204
S. Fintan 51
Florence, Council of . . . 299
S. Florian 12
S. Foilan 51
Francis II., Emp. 371
Franks. . . 4, 5, 23–7, 28, 29
Franz of Sickingen . . . 337
Freemen 52
Frederick II., Emp. . . . 287
,, B. Münster . . 181–2
,, II., K. Prussia. . 368
,, William, K. . . 368
Freising 51, 68
S. Fridolin. 45, 51
Frisians . . . 55, 59–61, 74
Fritzlar 64, 155
Fulda . . . 64, 95, 137, 185–8
S. Fursey 51

S. Gall 44–5, 51
,, Abbey 138–54
Gandersheim . . . 159, 162–7
Garibald 46
Gebhard, Abb. Cologne . 317–9
,, B. Speyer . . . 180
Geislar 63
S. Genoveva 30
Gerhard II., B. Magdeburg 254–8
Gerhous 207, 220–2
"German Theology". . . 279
Germania, Divisions of . . 2–6
Gewiliep, B. Mainz . . 70, 72
Gnesen 197
Gondecar, K. 21
Goslar 185
Goths 4, 15, 20
Gotteschalk 202
Gregory, B. Tours . . 33, 34
,, II. 60, 62
,, III. 66–70
,, VII . 197–200, 208–11

PAGE

Gregory of Heimsburg . 267, 284
Grimoald 47
Gundebald 30
Guntchram. 42–3
Gunther, B. Bamberg. . . 201

Haimo, B. Halberstadt . . 119
Halberstadt 95
Hamburg 195–6
Hanseatic Towns . . . 204, 327
Hatto I., Abp. Mainz. . 129–32
Hedderich 363
Henry I., Abp. Mainz . 188–9
,, B. Augsburg . . . 176
,, I. Emp. . . . 156–6
,, II. ,, . . 159–161, 197
,, III. ,, ... 220
,, IV. ,, . . 175–180, 185–7
Heriger, Abp. Mainz. . 129–32
Hermann, Abp. Cologne. 316–7
Hermes. 374
Heruli 13
Hesse 61, 63, 65, 69, 86, 196, 313
Hezelo, B. Halberstadt . 185–6
Hildebert, Abp. Tours . . 215
S. Hildegarde . . . 192–3, 207
Hildesheim 95–97
Hildwardshausen 166
Hohenstauffen House. . 287–8
Hontheim 357–8
Hrabanus Maurus. . . . 119
Humanism . . . 267, 286, 303
Huns . . . 13, 18–19, 23, 29
Huss 293
Hussites 297, 298

Iconoclasm. 120
Indulgences 307–8
Investitures 199–200
S. Irenæus 2
Irish Missionaries . . 49–52, 65
Iso 141

Jesuits . . . 335, 343–6, 372

PAGE

Jews, slaughter of . . . 202–3
John XXII. 228
„ XXIII. 291–4
Joseph II., Emp. 359
Joviacum 13
Judicial Rights given to Bishops 233
Justification by Faith . 304–6, 308
Juvavum 13, 47

Kaiserswerth 176
S. Kilian 48–9, 51
Knipperdolling . . . 321, 323
Kultur Kampf 386

Landebert, B. Maestricht. . 54
Laureacum 13
Lazzi 52
League 345
Leo III. 99–103
„ X.. 328
S. Leoba 64
S, Leodegar 54
Lithuania 204–5
Lombards 4
Lorch 12, 47
Louis the Child . . . 128–9
„ „ Pious 104
Lubeck 320, 337
Lull, Abp. Mainz 73
Luther, Martin, 302–15, 324, 327–8, 337–8
Luxeuil. 50

Madelgar, B. Laon . . . 54
Maestricht 36
Magdeburg. 250–3
„ Centuriators . . 353
Mainz 8–9, 70, 73, 162, 188–95, 364–5, 370
Mansus 111
Marcomanni 15
S. Martin 6
S. Maternus, B. Treves . 3, 8, 9
S. Maximilian 12

PAGE

Maximilian I., Emp, . . . 285
S. Maximin, B. Treves . . 10
Meinwerk, B. Paderborn. 160–2
Memel 205
Merswin 279
Metz 3, 9
Minden 96
Missus 80, 105
Mœngal. 142, 145
Mœsia 16
Moravians 350–1
Münster 95, 97, 321–6
Munzer, Thomas . . . 313, 321
Mysticism . . 274–80, 286–7, 351

Neustria 26
Noricum 10, 15
Notker Balbulus . . . 144–9
„ Labeo 144
„ Physicus 144
Nuncios 357
Nürnberg 312

Odilo, D. of Bavaria . . 66–9, 71
Old Catholics 383–5
Osnabrück . . 95, 97, 320, 348
Ostrogoths 15–16, 19
Otho I., Emp. 156, 158

Paderborn 95, 96
Palatinate 336
Pappolus 42
Passau 13, 67
Patricians 237
Peasants' War 314, 337
S. Perminus 45
Philip of Hesse . . . 321, 339
Pietism 352, 369
Pirkheimer 271, 340
Pippin of Herstal 55–7
„ K. 91, 128
Pius VI. 360–1
„ VII. 359, 372
„ IX.. 379

PAGE

Planta 105
Pluralities . 132, 326, 356–7, 362
Polygamy 323, 339
Pragmatic Sanction . . . 301

Radbod. 59
S. Ragnacar, B. Basle . . 51
Ratisbon 12, 67
Rautenstrauch 360
Reichenau 45
S. Remacle, B. 51
S. Remigius, B. Rheims . 32, 38
Remiremont 51
Reuchlin 271
Rhætia 10–11
Rhegino of Prüm 120
Riga 204
S. Riquier, B. 51
Romanus 142
S. Romaric 51
Ronge 375–6
Roswitha 167
Rugii 12–13
S. Rupert, B. Salzburg . . 68
Ruysbroeck 277

Säckingen . . . 45, 51, 384–5
Salvian 10, 28
Salzburg . . . 13, 47, 68, 366
Saxons 87–98
Saxony 313–15
Schneider 363–4
Scholasticism . . . 268–70, 277
Schönborn, Abp. . . . 355
Serfs 52
S. Severinus 12–13
Severus Sanctus 10
Sidonius Apollinaris . . . 7
Siegfried, Abp. Mainz 176–80, 197, 201
Sigismund, Emp. 292–3, 298, 300
Sintram. . . . 139–140, 150
Solomon I., B. Constance . 144
,, III. 132–5

PAGE

Songschools . . . 142–3, 145
Sophia of Gandersheim . 162–6
Spenner 350–1
Spinola. 355
Spitz 363
Sturm 64
Syllabus 379

Tauler 277, 279
Teutonic Order . . . 205, 327
Thasillo, Duke 67
S. Thecla 64
Thegan 120
Theodelinda, Q. 46
Theodoric 16
Theudebert I. 36
,, II.. 43–5
Theudechild 36
Theudefrid, Ab. Corbie . . 51
Theuderich I. 43, 48
Thomasius 351, 354
Thuringia 48–49, 62, 64–5, 69, 87, 328
Tiburnia 14
Tolbiac 25
Tongern 24, 28, 36
Toxandria 24, 28
Treves 3, 6, 8, 24, 29, 55, 362, 370
Tropes 148
Tuggen 44
Tutilo 148

Ulphilas 16, 17
S. Ulrich, B. Augsburg . 126–7
Ulrich, D. Würtemberg . . 327
,, of Hutten . . 272–4, 308

Victor, B. Metz 9
Vindelicia 10
Virgil, B. Salzburg . 51, 68, 75
Vivilo, B. Lorch 67

Walafrid Strabo 119
S. Walpurgis 64

IRA
THE
THEOLOGY

PAGE

Walram 149
Werden. 95
Westphalia, Peace of . . 347, 349
Wicterp, B. Ratisbon . . 67–8
Widukind 167
S. Willibald 71
S. Willibrord 55, 59
S. Willigis, Abp. Mainz . 162–7
Wisigoths 15–16, 19
Wittekind, Duke . . . 89, 92–3
Worms, Diet 310–11
Würtemberg 327, 373
Wurzburg 59, 69

Yxküll 204

Zinzendorf 351
Zünfte 231
Zwingle . 312, 313–4, 331, 338

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